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## INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

### BRIEFS

IRANIAN OFFICIAL PRAISES LIBYAN REVOLUTION--Tehran, 11 Oct (JANA)--A member of the Iranian Consultative Council, 'Izzat Sihabi, praised the gigantic achievements recorded in the Jamahiriyah by virtue of the incessant effort of the great al-Fatah revolution. He also expressed his great admiration for the Jamahiriyah's constant support for liberation causes everywhere and its championing of Islam and Muslims. In an interview with our correspondent in Tehran he touched on the assumption of people's authority achieved whereas the Jamahiriyah (state of the masses) now governs itself without interference or control from any side. He went on to express admiration for the immense steps taken by Libya in all vital fields especially in the economic, agricultural, industrial, education and health sectors. He said what he had witnessed during his visit to the Jamahiriyah indicates the extent of sincerity and earnestness in the effort exerted by al-Fatah revolution to enable the Libyan Arab people to reap the fruit of their own resources. [Text] [LD111050 Tripoli JANA in English 0841 GMT 11 Oct 81]

CSO: 4500/12

## BRIEFS

GULF MINISTERS APPROVE AID PLAN--Finance ministers from five Gulf countries have approved a \$5 billion Arab Development Decade Plan to reduce differences in living standards between rich and poor countries in the Arab world. The plan will place special emphasis on aid to six Arab countries--North and South Yemen, Sudan, Somalia, Mauritania and Djibouti--which figure on the list of the world's 31 least developed countries drawn up by the UN. The finance ministers of Iraq, Kuwait, Qata, Saudi Arabia and the UAE agreed to fund the plan with \$5 billion for the first five years at a meeting in Kuwait on September 25. The Arab Development Decade springs from a decision taken by Arab heads of state at their summit meeting in Amman in 1980. In addition to the goal of narrowing differences in living standards, the plan also will seek to achieve self-sufficiency in food for Gulf countries and to reduce the dependence of these countries on non-Arab workers. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO No 40, 5 Oct 81 p 7]

CSO: 4400/17

CAPTURED REBEL APPEARS ON TELEVISION

LD110938 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0509 GMT 11 Oct 81

[Text] Kabul, 10 Oct (BAKHTAR)--Abdul Latif, a recently captured counterrevolutionary element, in a television interview said: I was appointed as a member at the administration section of the attorney office in 1974 and continued working here until 1978. In the middle of 1978 Abdul Raof, a representative of the so-called Jamiat Party in Herat, told me that Islam was in danger and that you should fulfill your obligation. Thus I became a member of the so-called Jamiat Islami Party in 1978.

Answering a question regarding the duties he was charged to carry out, he said: From 1978 to 1980 I was not given any duty to perform but in the middle of 1980 I was assigned to go to Iran and I went to Iran.

Answering another question, he said: I have travelled to Iran and Pakistan and the only reason behind my travel abroad was the pressures and threats inflicted upon me by the miscreants.

Regarding his stay in Tehran, he replied: I worked for about a year for the so-called Cultural Committee of the Rebels Party in Tehran. My job was to register the names of those miscreants who were killed in Afghanistan. Their lists were given to me by another person. Then I gave the listed names to the Cultural Committee for publication.

Answering another question, he explained that the financial assistance was given by the Arab countries including Egypt and Saudi Arabia. A small portion of this aid was distributed to the counterrevolutionary elements of Afghanistan and a larger portion of it was given to the anti-Khomeyni forces of Iran to fight against the Khomeyni state for preventing the Islamic revolution of Iran in Saudi Arabia.

Abdul Latif added that military training is given to Afghan miscreants by Americans, Chinese and Egyptians but as I had a leg problem I have not received military training but I have followed a 25-day photography course which was taught by Americans who could talk in Pashto and Dari.

Later I was sent to Afghanistan. After a number of photographs, I was charged to take photos of an operation which was going to take place in Herat--Torghundi

Road. When I went there I observed there were two barrels of petrol with a number of plastic ribbons. The miscreants there instructed me that when the caravan traverses Herat-Torghondi distance we set the caravan on fire by petrol and I was charged to take pictures of the scene. It was during this operation when I was caught by the armed forces.

I would have sent the pictures to Ziai office in Tehran, Iran, if I was not captured.

Answering another question concerning the activities of the counterrevolutionary elements of Afghanistan against the popular state of Afghanistan, he expounded: While I was in Iran and Pakistan, the counterrevolutionary elements intimidated me that if I went to Afghanistan and was caught, the government of Afghanistan will torture and kill me. But when I came to Afghanistan I witnessed the subversive actions of the miscreants instead. The ruffians set the mosques, harvests, and the schools on fire, killed the innocent people and destroyed the bridges. I suffered very much when I observed the subversive actions carried out by them. Finally, I was caught by the armed forces. However, I have been treated so well by the DRA armed forces and by my interrogation officers. Such a humane treatment persuaded me to expose the crimes of the counterrevolutionaries to the audience of radio and television of Afghanistan.

CSO: 4600/52

SCHOLAR ON REBEL-ARMY RELATIONS

BK150334 Hong Kong AFP in English 0310 GMT 15 Oct 81

[Text] Islamabad, 15 Oct (AFP)--Skirmishes are becoming infrequent between Afghan rebels and the communist regime's troops, who are passive in many districts out of complicity with the rebels, it was reported here today.

A French university expert on Afghanistan who spent 2 months with the Mujahedeen saw much evidence of tacit understandings between Afghan soldiers and rebels. There were even instances of collaboration.

The expert, Oliver Roy, 32, said the rebels control all the rural area: "Army outposts isolated in hostile villages survive by staying very discreet. And the rebels prefer to ignore the soldiers cloistered in their outposts rather than attack them, which would draw Soviet bombardment of the villages in reprisal.

"Twice during my journey, my guides said: 'Do not approach that building. It is an army post. It is better that the soldiers should not know a foreigner is here.'"

Roy, who speaks Dari (a Persian dialect) fluently, asked a man in one village if he had taken part in an attack on an Afghan fort in Mangarhar Province, which borders on Afghanistan. [As received] Roy had heard the explosions during that attack.

The man answered that he was the deputy commander of that fort and that the attack was a phony one staged by rebels to make two British news correspondents think the Mujahedeen were eager to fight.

The officer, who was visiting his family on furlough, said the false battle also was an excuse to justify the disappearance of munitions, which the garrison had given to the Mujahedeen.

The Frenchman approached as close as 30 kilometers (20 miles) to Kabul, the capital, in its northern suburbs. He stayed 4 days in a village sheltering several urban guerrilla commando groups belonging to different rebel organizations.

"They said the soldiers themselves come to tell the names and addresses of communist officers to be ambushed, the time they take to go home, and the time they start home," Mr Roy said. "A six-man commando group told me they had executed four party members and carried out a night attack on a Kabul winery during which nine people were killed."

In Panshir valley, 60 kilometers (40 miles) north of Kabul, the resistance is especially well organized, Mr Roy said. When army officers came there on home leave, the Mujahedeen explained to him: "We want the soldiers to desert to bring us weapons, but we prefer to have their officers stay at their posts to spy for us."

Two French doctors running a rebel hospital in Panshir valley told Mr Roy that Masood, the chief of the Mujahedeen, warned them correctly at the start of September what day and time the hospital would be bombarded.

The Soviet Army is relatively passive too, except during big, carefully-planned antirebel drives, he said: "I crossed the Kabul River while Soviet helicopters were flying over it, and crossed the strategic road of Salang pass 30 metres from a Soviet jeep. Soviet outposts unleash artillery barrages when they are harrassed at night, but they do not try to control the terrain during the day."

An exception occurred when thousands of Soviet soldiers against Panshir valley. [As received] Helicopters landed, many of them on the ridges overlooking the valley.

"That tactic was much more effective than trying to force passage with tanks in the valley bottom. The Mujahedeen were in difficulty. But just as the resistance fighters were about to retreat, the Russians turned back," Mr Roy said.

The Mujahedeen said the Russians pulled out because five of the senior officers in command were in one of two helicopters that were shot down.

"I saw the wrecks of the helicopters. They were shot down by heavy machinegun fire.

"The Panshir offensive killed about 50 resistance fighters and more than twice as many civilians. But the only dead I saw myself," Mr Roy concluded, "were an executed police official who belonged to the Parcham (one of two communist factions) and two victims of a clash between three resistance groups not far from Kabul."

CSO: 4600/52

## BRIEFS

KARMAL, KESHTMAND-U.S. JOURNALIST MEETINGS--Kabul, 11 Oct (BAKHTAR)--Babrak Karmal, general secretary of the Central Committee of the PDPA and president of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA received Strobe Talbott, the correspondent of TIME MAGAZINE, printed in the United States, at the headquarters of the Revolutionary Council today. Babrak Karmal answered the questions put by Strobe Talbott in an atmosphere of frankness and sincerity. The American correspondent later held separate meetings with Soltan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the DRA and Foreign Minister Shah Mohammad Dost. [Text] [Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0503 GMT 12 Oct 81]

VISIT TO CSSR--Kabul, 11 Oct (BAKHTAR)--Sarwar Mangal, deputy minister of higher and vocational education, leading a DRA delegation, left today for an official visit to an observation tour of Czechoslovakia. [Text] [Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0445 GMT 12 Oct 81]

RESTORATION OF MOSQUES--Kabul, 11 Oct (BAKHTAR)--Work on the programme of restoration and repair of historical and important mosques at state's expense is continuing in full swing in the DRA. Repair and resotring the decoration of the Congregational Chopforoshi mosque has recently begun in Kabul. Similar kind of work in two other congregational mosques, namely Pulikhishti, Shahi Dohamshira is continuing, the Islamic Affairs Department reported. [Text] [Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0455 GMT 12 Oct 81]

AMBASSADOR TO GDR--Kabul, 12 Oct (BAKHTAR)--Mohammad Shafi, deputy chairman of the Commission of International Relations of the PDPA, is accredited as the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the DRA in GDR by the government of the German Democratic Republic. Born in 1947, the new Afghan ambassador is a graduate of the Technical Teachers Training Institute in Kabul. He completed higher education in the Federal Republic of Germany. [Text] [LD140530 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0442 GMT 13 Oct 81]

LAND REFORM MEETING--Kabul, 13 Oct (BAKHTAR)--A meeting of the senior officers and representatives of the ministries of agriculture and land reforms, interior, national defence, transport, Agricultural Development Bank was held under the chairmanship of Fazil Rahim Mohmand, minister of agriculture and land reforms, regarding the implementation of the third phase of the operational plan of the democratic land reform of the DRA here today. The issues discussed in the meeting were the organization of farmers and landowners in the agricultural cooperatives,

provision of material and technical aid and other necessary facilities to them and the adoption of security measures for the implementation of the said plan. The implementation of the third phase of the operational plan will go into effect on 21 March 1982. [Text] [LD150616 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0438 GMT 14 Oct 81]

EDUCATION DELEGATION TO GDR--Kabul, 14 Oct (BAKHTAR)--An Afghan delegation led by Dr F.M. Yaqubi, minister of education of the DRA, left for Berlin, GDR, to attend the international conference of ministers of education to be held there shortly. [Text] [LD150616 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0432 GMT 15 Oct 81]

JOURNALISTS DELEGATION TO USSR--Kabul, 14 Oct (BAKHTAR)--Dr Haidar Masoiid, chairman of the Central Council of the Union of Journalists of the DRA and deputy minister of information and culture, left for Moscow today. He will head the Afghan delegation to the ninth congress of the unions of journalists to be held in Moscow. [Text] [LD150616 Kabul BAKHTAR in English 0435 GMT 15 Oct 81]

CSO: 4600/52

## EGYPT

### ROLES OF RULING, OPPOSITION PARTIES ANALYZED

Cairo ROSE AL-YUSUF in Arabic No 2766, 15 Jun 81 pp 22-26

[Article by 'Abd-al-Sattar Tawilah: "Democratic Practice and the Opposition"]

[Text] Those who were close to the late President Jamal 'Abd-al-Nasir used to say that when evaluating the power of his enemies, he used to multiply their real power by 10 and then begin to confront them on that basis.

This course naturally led to disasters the least of which was the terror that prevailed over political life for many years.

I must admit quite frankly that because of the outcry that has been raised in recent weeks about partisan opposition, many people thought that this opposition was very close or about to come to power. Therefore, it was normal that intense campaigns be focused against it to weaken public opinion support for the opposition so it would not be able to take away a majority of seats in the parliament from the ruling party.

But any political observer or even average citizen who is politically quite illiterate can discover quite easily that the coming of the opposition to power is merely muddled wishful thinking because the existing government is firm, strong and supported by the masses.

#### The Grudges of Totalitarianism

This major outcry over the opposition may stem from the fact that our experience with parties is very recent, following an experience with a total dictatorship that lasted for about 20 years. This undoubtedly left in the heart of everyone who holds an official position in this country the latent notion that the other opinion and criticism were strange matters, if not basically unacceptable.

There is also no doubt that some of those who have another opinion stepped out of line when they expressed their opinions in a manner which affirmed that they did not understand the novelty and the circumstances of the [democratic] experience which requires that the matter [of political opposition] be pursued gradually and slowly.

We will attempt in this discussion, in which we initiate a dialogue about democratic practice and the opposition, to deal quite candidly with the questions from various angles. Nothing is more deserving of such candor than a discussion of this question.

### The Majority Party

The first perspective is that of the ruling party's attitude toward the opposition.

We indicated at the beginning of the discussion that this party exaggerates and magnifies the power of the opposition. This exaggeration entails that numerous conditions and variables in our political life have been ignored since May 1971.

The first of these variables lies in the fact that we began following the method of economic freedom. Because numerous social contradictions are created by economic freedom, [a free economy] requires that there be political freedom. This requires that the social contradictions be reconciled and overcome by a democratic method.

The justification for restricting political freedom in 'Abd-al-Nasir's age was the totalitarian economy which required that there be one political organization, one opinion and one decision.

Despite the fact that the most economically totalitarian countries in the world, which are the communist countries, are beginning to reject this theory--and evidence for this is what is happening now in Poland and the fact that the principles of Euro-communism are spreading and flourishing and calling for the multiplicity of parties and opinions in a socialist regime itself--some Third World countries are still adhering to this theory. That is, they are adhering to the worst in the socialist regimes.

Opposition is inevitable. We can almost say that it is an inborn phenomenon that more closely resembles man's essential instincts. People's minds are not made of the same metal; nor do they have the same cellular makeup. People do not live in the same environment whose reality is similarly reflected on these cells so as to create the same reaction.

Throughout history man's battles have affirmed the need to recognize the truth about this dispute and difference of opinion. Then man discovered this curious innovation that is called democracy. Democracy allows opinions to play a role and to be expressed so that the course of progress in human life can be pushed forward.

People discovered that if the other opinion is suppressed and persecuted, an explosion, no matter how long it takes, is inevitable.

The experiences of what happened and what is happening in Syria, South Korea, Cambodia and Poland, etc. are in front of us.

The leaders of the revolution of 23 July 1952 ignored these facts until matters were restored to their normal course in May 1971 when our plan to pursue the course of democracy [was begun]. That plan culminated in making it possible for multiple parties [to exist].

As the October Paper stated, a party is the political expression of the interests of a class or group of citizens.

It is not a condition that these interests be consistent with those of other groups. In fact, it is normal that they differ and that every group determine the scope and the boundaries of this difference. At the same time all the other groups reveal the extremes or the precision of these boundaries.

#### The Opposition's Right To Rule

It is the right of every political party to try to come to power because that is the means through which it can put its program into practice. Coming to power is legitimate and quite common. Every party in the world strives to achieve this goal. The only thing that is forbidden in the pursuit of power is the use of illegal methods and especially the use of force.

Therefore all people were surprised, especially outside Egypt, by the fact that a writer [who is a member] of the National Democratic party [NDP] would attack in writing the president of the National Progressive Unionist Grouping party [NPUG] because he declared publicly at a press conference that his party was seeking power.

It is the right of the opposition to seek power, and it is the right of the ruling party to hold on to that power and to prevent the opposition from attaining it by all legitimate means.

On the other hand people are surprised by the constant discussion about the limits of the opposition as seen by the ruling party. One time the discussion is about the need for an honest opposition; [another time] it is about a constructive opposition or such and such methods.

It is naturally the right of every party to criticize the methods of its adversaries and even to reveal the opposition's methods and whether or not they are destructive or dishonest, etc.

But it is surprising that the ruling party's majority has the strongest means of publishing and influencing public opinion, whereas the opposition has no more than two poor newspapers.

I am saying that despite this fact and despite the fact that the ruling party is using its capabilities to confront the opposition and to maintain its campaign against it, the ruling party sometimes says that the opposition is no more than 20 individuals. Other times it says the opposition [consists of] a small number of professional politicians, etc.

The question that comes to the mind of the average man is this: Why this uproar and why this anxiety over 20 persons or a small number of professionals?

Actually, this course of action exaggerates the value of the opposition and contributes to it free publicity and influence. This is exactly what happened with regard to the Egyptian journalists who are working abroad. Their role was exaggerated despite their lack of influence in the country. Briefly, this course of action makes heroes of the opponents of the regime.

#### Reproaches and Threats

The matter often goes as far as demonstrations of benevolence. There has been much discussion about not opening the detention camps, as though this were a hint that they would be reopened even though the public had rallied in May 1971 around President Anwar al-Sadat because he had proclaimed the slogan of democracy whose principal feature then was the irrevocable closing of the detention camps. This was followed by greater and more far-reaching steps that culminated in the victory of October 1973 and then with the soon to be achieved liberation of our national soil.

These demonstrations of benevolence go as far as the constant emphasis on the fact that it was the Democratic party that played a principal role in establishing one of the opposition parties.

All right. Even if this were so, who said that even a son had to abide by the course [of action] and the thinking of his father when he comes of age?

When al-Sadat closed the detention camps, he did not close them so that those who had been arrested would sing his praises. Al-Sadat closed those camps so that those who had been detained could say what they had to say without fear. The former ruler did not imprison those who sang his praises. The detention camps were usually for those who insisted on their right to say what they wanted to say.

It is also conceivable that any ruler gives a group or a party the right to express itself. Such expression need not necessarily be confined to supporting the ruler. If that were not so, the fact that the group of the party gained the right to express itself is merely a fantasy.

#### Partisan Methods

I was recently in France during the presidential elections, and I saw and heard what would make the parties in Egypt appear to be using the methods of very "innocent virgins" compared to what is happening in Europe.

In Italy deputies strike each other under the dome of parliament, and no one tells them this is shameful.

In Belgium I saw the opposition parties calling for the separation of Flanders from the motherland and the formation of a federal state.

Parties in the United States, in Britain, France, Italy, Germany and in all the countries of western Europe whose democratic systems are praised by most writers of the Democratic National Party, especially in the context of comparing them with the eastern countries, exchange even personal accusations and accusations that have to do with relationships with women.

Despite this partisan struggle in every country that has multiple parties, whose "shameful" limits as we know them in Egypt are exceeded by leagues and miles, these regimes are stable, and a ruling party may rule with a one percent or a two percent majority without anxiety or tension.

We cannot forget the appearance of Willy Brandt, the chancellor of West Germany, when he addressed a meeting in West Berlin a few years ago. A young woman ran toward him, threw a bottle of ink at him and called him the worst names.

Brandt took off his coat and wiped his shirt with the sleeve of the coat. He then handed the coat to one of his aides who was standing nearby. Meanwhile the police arrested the young woman as she was trying to get away. She continued insulting Brandt while he went on with his speech. The young woman was sentenced to 6 months in jail.

The ruling Socialist Democratic party was not jolted; nor was the regime shaken. This is because undue concern with the errors of democratic practice magnifies these errors and places obstacles on the road of democratic practice because it places more value on these errors than they deserve.

### Elections by List

As we discuss the question of the method that is used by the opposition in an attempt to come to an agreement over some of the formulas and practices [that are in use], we must try to show the opposition's thinking and reactions to some of the legislation which it finds is restricting its activity and [its ability] to represent the people who support it, notwithstanding of their limited number.

An example of this is the Elections by List Law with absolute majority. The system of voting for an individual gives each party an opportunity to have a number of its members win seats in the various kinds of parliamentary councils. But the countries that have an older tradition of democracy discovered a method that was more expressive of democracy. That method is the system of election by list with proportional representation. This system does not waste any votes that are won by any party, and thus the parliamentary council is truly representative of all the political forces and movements in the nation.

Suddenly, however, the Democratic party called for the introduction of a proportional representation system with absolute majority. This meant that 49.9 percent of the electorate's votes in any area will equal zero.

This makes the opposition feel that it is being besieged, especially in the municipal councils where matters of daily life in the administrative districts, in the small towns and in the villages are discussed. Because experience has shown that in areas remote from the capital numerous deviations occur that are covered up by family solidarity and tribal interests, the presence of the opposition becomes necessary in the interests of the central government in Cairo. Newspapers have published much about operations to expose some members of these councils for their deviations. The newspapers even published stories about the fact that these councils expel members of the opposition to get rid of them.

Isn't the opposition right in imagining, while it feels that it is being strangled, that the law gave comfort to these councils once and for all by preventing the opposition from attaining positions on these councils in the first place?

What about the Opposition?

If we have talked so frankly about the ruling majority party, we will talk just as frankly about the opposition.

It seems obvious that the opposition is not aware of the conditions under which democracy in Egypt is being practiced and of the fact that the experience is novel. This means that there are strong opponents lying in wait for Egypt, hoping that the country will turn into a gloomy darkness of dictatorship and totalitarianism.

Had the opposition realized this, it would have utilized different methods that would be incompatible with provocation and the stirring up of hostilities.

The opposition has conducted its opposition in the style of "oppose and run." This course has so far made it incapable of offering any considered and earnest solutions to our problems and to the daily problems of our masses. The opposition agitates only by exposing the negative aspects and the flaws [of the regime].

I have not yet read by any one of the opposition parties a simple study of the problems of high prices, transportation, telephones, housing and food security. There has been only one good study of one of these problems by the Grouping party. That was a study of the housing problem by Dr Milad Hanna.

I did not see a single opposition party contact the public directly to help the people solve their daily problems such as eradicating illiteracy or cleaning up city quarters or anything.

The propaganda and agitation on problems in general are desirable, but it is also desirable that the opposition go to the public to help the people solve their daily problems.

'Abd-al-Nasir's regime struck down all the freedoms, even the freedom to form a society for burying the dead, without police permission and inquiries. But al-Sadat opened the door to every popular action taken in the interests of people in societies and various social organizations.

In fact 'Abd-al-Nasir did not establish a political party on purpose. This means that the field was open for the forces that wanted to assail the revolution and its gains.

One cannot be but truly surprised and bewildered at how Anwar al-Sadat was able to preserve the accomplishments of the July revolution without establishing this party until a short time ago: the public sector, the 50 percent [representation for] workers and farmers; the gains of workers; and free education. In fact, al-Sadat added to these gains new domestic ones such as pensions and insurance coverage for every Egyptian. He increased minimum wages, and he expanded the regional universities, that is, expanded free education. And there are other accomplishments which the opposition shows no interest in supporting.

It is the function of the opposition to support as well as criticize. This would make it gain the respect of the public because it makes it appear to be objective and honest.

#### An Alternative for the Regime?

One of the opposition parties, the Grouping party, made a grave political mistake in early 1977. Its proclaimed positions in what was then its newspaper, AL-AHALI, made it seem that the Grouping party was presenting itself as an alternative to the existing national regime as a whole.

This was despite the fact that when the political parties were formed, it was known that the system was more like a national front umbrella with the parties differing and arguing with each other in the context of [expressing] the different opinions of different national forces.

The president of that party, Khalid Muhi al-Din stated several times on the pages of ROSE AL-YUSUF that his party was part of the regime and that a discussion of that question would be futile and wasteful.

However, the conduct and the policy pursued by the party afterwards was in most cases at variance with [Mr Muhi al-Din's assertions], and he insisted on refusing to answer the question we put to him several times.

"Are you the other opinion within the regime, or are you the alternative to the regime?"

It is the right of any political party to consider itself anything it wishes--an alternative to any regime, for example--provided that this party bear the responsibility for this consideration in accordance with certain historical circumstances.

## Isolation from the Masses

The opposition, and I am referring specifically to the leftist party, committed a serious political error when it opposed the initiative in November 1977. This brought upon it a more serious political loss from the standpoint of the public, and it isolated it from the public. Being isolated from the public makes it easier to strike any party or at least to cut it down to size.

It was not understood why the initiative was being opposed. That initiative meant a flexible, intelligent application of the principle of negotiating with the enemy. It affected world public opinion and had been accepted by the whole world and by 'Abd-al-Nasir. The left lost [here] a golden opportunity to patch up the breach with the national regime that had occurred in January 1977.

The Socialist Labor party committed another political error when it announced its opposition to the Camp David accords after having had supported them earlier.

We do not understand the significance of opposing the agreement. Does that opposition mean having the agreement abolished as though nothing had happened, along with the ensuing return of Sinai by Israel or Israel halting its evacuation of the rest of the occupied part of Sinai?

Does the party's opposition to the agreement mean that we abrogate what we have been able to achieve in the way of establishing autonomy for the Palestinian people? This is what Israel calls a nameless Palestinian state, and it has therefore dragged its feet in implementing its articles.

The Camp David accords have so far achieved [the following]:

--The evacuation of Sinai.

--The achievement of peace between Egypt and Israel.

--The placement of the Palestinian question at the forefront of the world's attention.

We can understand statements by the Labor party and by other parties that in view of Israel's intransigence in implementing the agreement, it is essential that an international conference with new parties be convened so as to force Israel to yield to the national hopes of the Palestinian people and withdraw from the Golan. And we can understand statements about the agreement achieving this and failing to achieve that, as Giscard d'Estaing, the former president of France used to say.

But what can sheer opposition to the agreement possibly mean?

This erroneous posture on the part of the Labor party provided the opportunity for attacking it and for isolating it from the masses.

## Provocation and Mrs Jihan

Some opposition parties sometimes resort to provocation. An example of such provocation is an article by Dr Hilmi Murad which touched upon the activities of Mrs Jihan al-Sadat.

A female Egyptian pilot called Mrs Lutfiyah realized publicity for Egypt in the thirties merely because she was the first Egyptian female to fly an airplane. Mrs Jihan al-Sadat realized the greatest publicity possible for Egyptian women and their status and development in public life in Egypt, thanks to her constant activities in all the corners of the world where she defends Egypt, the rights of Egypt and the progress of its people. She has earned the respect and support of all those who heard and saw her. This respect is not hers alone, but it is also for all the Egyptian people.

This Egyptian woman who has achieved everything that a woman anywhere can aspire to achieve, having her husband become the president, could have taken it easy and [sat back to] enjoy a life of prosperity and contentment.

But she works night and day with cancer patients in the fields of public service. She is the one who lifted from her husband and from all of Egypt the burden of looking after the disabled veterans of the war; she earned the encouragement and support of agencies and countries; and she built a model complex for them.

Is not this the responsibility of the people of Egypt for whom those heroes made their sacrifice?

Who shouldered the responsibility for all Egypt in this regard? Was it not Mrs Jihan al-Sadat?

But she does not stop with that; instead, she chairs a local council for al-Minufiyah. Farmers, workers and civil servants have won many projects, and these were completed thanks to her chairing this council.

She also looks after cancer patients by presiding over the Cancer Society. In fact, her activities have extended to an interest in health insurance. Who benefits from health insurance? Isn't it the workers of Shubra al-Khaymah, al-Mahallah and the National Spinning [Company], etc.?

She also sponsors the Students' Fund, which brought about a project for providing students with clothing at the lowest prices.

In other words, Mrs Jihan al-Sadat takes part in significant work in a country where societies and fanatic organizations are fighting to put women back behind the walls of the harem and the chains of the veil.

When the president's wife goes out and makes a public contribution to daily life, is not this a contribution that pushes the women's liberation movement forward? With her support and her contribution gains in the area of personal status have actually been achieved.

Is not this the positive aspect that we must focus on, instead of talking provocatively about the constitutional status of the president's wife?

All the active wives of presidents work usually in the field of public affairs.

These are some of the mistakes that the opposition makes when it is carrying out its work. And now, what is to be done?

We must turn to establishing a general dialogue in which the question of the opposition would be proposed as a public question that is of interest to public opinion in our country.

#### National Reconciliation

We have been calling for this dialogue for the past 5 years. At times this goal was almost achieved, but, unfortunately, this did not happen.

If the president of the National Democratic party, who is also the president of the country, were to meet with the presidents of the parties and to discuss the situation with them, it is certain that he will be able to reconcile many of the differences and bring about an agreement over the method of dealing with the remaining points.

We must tolerate the opposition. The trend toward democracy in the world now is strong, even in the totalitarian countries.

China put Mao Zedong's wife on public trial for violating democracy.

In Poland the government and the communist party yielded to the workers' demands to establish democracy in political life for the first time.

In Tunisia a decision was made to establish a multiple party system. This has also taken place in Ghana. Egypt is the only country that has democracy. Let us light more candles for it.

As long as the opposition parties do not use or advocate the use of force in order to impose their point of view, let them exercise their right and let the government respond to them.

Let the opposition parties deal with the problems of society in a constructive manner in the sense of offering solutions and studies. Earning popular support for these solutions would make them more worthy of protection.

Let the opposition make a clear distinction between the national regime and the government in its criticism so that there would be no confusion. Let it realize the dimensions of the historic period in which we are living.

Let us stop using the methods of violence and personal attacks. This is not useful and causes considerable damage.

But as we said before, let there be a dialogue on all levels, all the way to the top. It is from here that we begin to strengthen democracy and to strengthen the existing national regime.

8592

CSO: 4504/73

MAJLIS SPEAKER LAUDS KHOMEYNI'S REPLY TO KHALID

GF110907 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 0554 GMT 11 Oct 81

[Speech by Majlis Speaker Hojjat al-Islam Hashemi-Rafsanjani during live relay of Majlis session in Tehran on 11 October 1981]

[Excerpts] In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, the brother and sister deputies all heard our esteemed leader's reply to the Saudi king's letter last night. The text of the imam's letter and his forceful remarks reached great heights.

The meaning of leadership is completely embodied in our glorious leader. God has completed his holy gift to these oppressed people in this respect. Khalid attempted to make allegations in his letter and tried to depict events in Mecca as something contrary to the spirit of the Haj and worship. He talked about narcotics and attempted to distort the truth by altering the slogans of the Iranian Muslims. He tried to appear innocent. His letter also shows the inability of Saudi leaders to resolve their problems and their need to resort to asking our leader for help.

The imam's reply showed that our leader is the deputy of the imam of the ages. Everything that needs to be said to the world of Islam today was included in the imam's reply. He showed that the Haj has deviated from its true path. If we were faced with a true Haj in the Islamic sense then we would not need AWACS and other things. The imam showed the road to Jerusalem from Ka'ba and the holy grand mosque. He also condemned the anti-Islamic actions being carried out around God's shrine in the name of Islam. The innocence of the Iranian pilgrims, who carried Islam's message under dangerous circumstances, was defended very well. The imam's leadership and his greatness also surfaced when, in a part referring to his changing the slogans and lies, he remained silent since replying would have seemed like self-defense. In his message, King Khalid said the Iranian pilgrims had chanted "God is great, Khomeyni is God" or "God is one and Khomeyni is one." All Muslims know that our chant and slogan is "God is great and Khomeyni is the leader" and "God is one and Khomeyni a (?messenger)." Khalid changed the word to "one" and said that the pilgrims had said "Khomeyni is one" in an attempt to make Muslims think that they are equating God with the imam.

If the Guidance Ministry and the Foreign Ministry carry out their duties as spokesmen on the subject of this letter [Khomeyni's letter], then the direction of

movement by Muslims, especially during Haj and at a time when Saudi officials have made it a subject of the day, will become clear. This shows that Saudi stompers [chakmeh-pushan] who--in the name of defending the holy Haj--entered the holy mosque and made arrests and beat people up are the criminals. The Muslims following the way of Isma'il--which has been specifically designed for such purposes--in the house of God and beside the Hajar al-Aswad [black stone in Ka'ba] chanted "Death to America and Israel." They are the true faithful and are not guilty. The Saudi police are the guilty party and are not defending worship. Anyway, I only wanted to say these few words because of the pride I feel and the feelings that the [word indistinct] letter by the imam created in me.

CSO: 4600/25

'NVOI' CRITICIZES DISREGARD FOR CONSTITUTION

TA121233 (Clandestine) National Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1730 GMT 11 Oct 81

[Unattributed commentary: "The People's Confidence Should Be Gained in Practice"]

[Text] Dear compatriots: Several days ago, Mr Musavi Ardebili, the revolution's prosecutor general, during an interview, addressing misled individuals who have made blind terrorism as their method of action, declared: If these individuals desist from the wrong, counterrevolutionary and antipeople method they will be able to participate in political activities the same as all nonreligious political organizations and parties. It should be stated that these remarks by the revolution's prosecutor general have to some extent caused the alleviation of the worries and aroused the hope of the true forces of the revolution.

Inviting misled and deceived individuals to desist from terrorist and subversive activities against the system of the Islamic Republic of Iran, and giving them an official promise that should they abandon this condemned method they will enjoy the possibility of political activity as well, has aroused this hope among the true forces of the revolution and the parties and organizations committed to the revolution that possibly government figures and authorities of the Islamic Republic of Iran have finally decided to pay heed to Imam Khomeyni's repeated warnings regarding misled and deceived individuals, and instead of adopting a vengeful attitude they will adopt a policy of guidance and persuasion.

Addressing judges of the revolution courts sometime ago, Imam Khomeyni said: I warn all courts that this mischief should not cause them to lose control and act in excess of the law of Islam. The martyrdom of dear ones should not cause the courts to adopt more severe measures than necessary. Some time has passed since this just warning by Imam Khomeyni, following his previous repeated warnings, and the explicit promise by the revolution's prosecutor general. As a rule, the country's judicial authorities and officials of the Islamic Republic should by now have taken steps toward implementing the explicit promise of the revolution's prosecutor general in accordance with the imam's warning and guidance, but unfortunately they have not done so. It is natural that with the continuation of the situation as before, gaining the confidence of enthusiastic and patriotic youth fallen into the trap of the liberals, the Savakists and remnants of the former regime, seems difficult.

You be the judge: Under conditions in which there is the continuation of the obvious violation of many of the constitution's principles, including the section pertaining to the rights of the people, how can a misled and deceived individual trust the promise made by the revolution's prosecutor general? It has been more than 1 year now, despite the explicit principles of the constitution, that the offices of some of the true revolutionary parties have been under the occupation of irresponsible individuals and Savakists who have changed color. During this period, despite the guidelines of Imam Khomeyni, the decree by the Supreme Judicial Council, the 10-article statement by the revolution's prosecutor general and the principles of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran, not even the slightest step has been taken to expel the clubwielders and the Savakists from the offices of the true revolutionary parties. This fact by itself, willingly or unwilling, causes the following question to be asked by every individual: Under conditions in which officials of the Islamic authority, contrary to the four above-mentioned legal sources, and foremost of all the country's constitution, are not ready to free the offices of the parties and an organization which under the most difficult conditions sincerely defended and are defending the revolution and its gains and the independence and freedom of dear Iran, how can one trust the promises of the prosecutor general?

It is here that the true forces of the revolution are rightly saying that the people's confidence should be gained in practice. The history of human society, from the slavery period until now, teaches us that neither assassination and murder, nor execution and imprisonment, whatever the intensity of their scope, cannot destroy an opinion stored in the brains. Therefore, simultaneously with decisiveness against mercenary and counterrevolutionary elements, it is only through guidance and persuasion that one can replace the wrong opinions of misled and inexperienced individuals with correct views.

Some time ago, in connection with the extensive wave of blind terrorism, planting of bombs and subversion on the one hand, and execution and imprisonment on the other, one of the revolutionary parties, in a statement, in order to bring back calm based on law and social justice in society, presented the following proposals to the Islamic authorities:

1. Issue of execution verdicts against all members and followers of leftist organizations who did not participate directly in assassinations, inciting people to revolt, planting bombs and the subversions that had taken place, should be halted.
2. Such individuals should be assured by the revolution's prosecutor general that should they, in the future as well, not participate in the aforementioned crimes, they will not be sentenced to death; and if they distance themselves from terrorist and subversive activities, and condemn such activities, they will be able to participate in legal political activity within the framework of the constitution of the Islamic Republic of Iran.
3. The 10-article statement by the revolution's prosecutor general in connection with the freedom of activity of political parties and groups who respect the constitution should be implemented without any alteration.

It is said in this statement that we are confident that such important political measures will separate a major section of those misled from the professional adventure-seekers who cannot be reformed and also from the Savakists, monarchists and professional criminals, and will sincerely bring them back to a normal, legal political life without fear and alarm from death and without resorting to lies and tricks.

Yes, it is only through such a course that the Islamic authorities and the revolution's prosecutor general can gain the confidence of the people, particularly of deceived individuals fallen into the trap of the liberals, monarchists, the American Maoists and the great Satan. By returning calm based on law and social justice, the Islamic authorities and the revolution's prosecutor general can maintain the continuity and broadening of the popular and anti-imperialist revolution and foil all the plots of the great Satan and its Iranian agents and mercenaries.

CSO: 4600/25

REACTION TO AL-SADAT ASSASSINATION 13 OCTOBER

GF131936 [Editorial Report] Ahvaz Domestic Service in Persian at 1330 GMT, Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian at 1500 GMT and Mashhad Domestic Service in Persian at 1430 GMT on 13 October did not report or comment on events in Egypt in the wake of President al-Sadat's assassination.

Tehran International Service in Urdu at 1415 GMT on 13 October carried news items on Egypt including a message from an Islamic student association to Egyptian students asking them "to arise against despotism." Another news item said that "Husni Mubarak was being imposed on the people of Egypt" and that the U.S. Government was to supply arms to Egypt. In its press review, the radio cited the newspapers SOBH-E AZADEGAN and JOMHURI-YE ESLAMI as publishing reports on the arrests of Egyptian army officers.

Azhedan International Service in Persian at 1530 GMT on 13 October broadcast a detailed item on the Egyptian situation and the announcement by the Egyptian interior minister that anyone creating disturbances would be severely dealt with. The radio also noted that the police had orders to shoot on sight anyone who behaved suspiciously. The station also reported that pictures of five rebels presumed to have been responsible for the Asyut riots are being flashed on Egyptian television.

In its commentary following the 1530 GMT newscast, Zahedan International Service in Urdu says: "Al-Sadat's exit heralds the end of an era of dictatorship." According to the radio, the revolution that has begun in Egypt is similar to the Islamic revolution in Iran where "the ousting of the tyrant was the first step."

Tehran International Service in Arabic during its newcasts on 13 October continued to carry reports on the latest developments in Egypt. At 0400 GMT the radio quoted AP on the Egyptian authorities' announcement that anyone trying to disrupt order and disturb peace would be shot. At 1100, 1230, 1430 and 1730 GMT the radio reported that union of Muslim students in Europe had called on Egyptian students to help topple the regime in Egypt. The plea called on the students to benefit from the experience of the Iranian revolution.

CSO: 4600/25

TEHRAN ON IMAM'S REPLY TO SAUDI MONARCH

GF121453 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1810 GMT 11 Oct 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The movement witnessed in the pilgrimage arena this year was not aimed at creating a breach in Muslim ranks, nor was it aimed at stirring up disagreement or disputation among the Muslims. The movement was aimed at reinforcing relations among all Muslims and increasing their concern about the central issue, that is, preparing ourselves against our joint enemy--Zionism and U.S. imperialism. The "death to America" and "death to Israel" slogans that Iranian pilgrims shouted are not contrary to Islamic guidelines which call for cleansing the land of all usurpers and for confrontation of all those who fight Islam and the Muslims. Neither have the slogans had any negative effects on Muslim unity. On the contrary, these slogans can be a platform for uniting the Muslims and best utilizing their efforts and resources.

The holy shrines witnessed unprecedented Islamic solidarity. All Muslims joined their Iranian brothers and participated with them in the big demonstration. They shouted with an eloquent Arab tongue "death to the United States," "death to Israel."

What terrifies the enemy is the participation of all Muslims in the Muslim cause. We firmly believe that what took place in Mecca has terrified Israel more than any thing else. Why, then, should this loud voice be (?silenced)? In whose interest is it for a Muslim demonstration against Israel and the United States to be stopped? Any move in this direction is in fact voluntary service to the enemy even if the one who commits it does not realize the dimensions of his act.

How can this demonstration contradict Islam? Does Islam allow a Muslim to lag in his duty and does it forbid political action by him? We pose this question to every living conscience of Muslim Ulema everywhere on earth.

Perhaps there are people who will blame us for the slogan: "God is great, Khomeyni is a leader" which was raised among other slogans and which was conveyed to the kingdom's authorities in a reverse way.

What King Khalid's contention in his message that Iranians were shouting "God is great, Khomeyni is great" is not true. If the authorities had sincere and faithful police organs--as the imam said in his reply--they would know the nature of the situation and would understand the honorable goals of Iranian and non-Iranian pilgrims. They would also know how these organs treat the guests of God who have borne difficulties and labored on the road to meet God.

Despite all that has happened, the voice of the imam is still ringing everywhere. This angelic voice is urging all to abandon differences and to unite on the joint goal. This is God's call to the people and the Koran's call to Muslims when it orders them to hold firmly to God's rope and to unite. Khomeyni repeats his call: "I beg Saudi Arabia to join its voice to ours in order to be brothers in Islam."

In conclusion the imam defined an Islamic medium in relations between Muslim countries. He called on all Muslim countries to unite on the foundation: "Hard against the unbelievers, tender among themselves." [Koranic verse]

When will Muslim governments wake up and adhere to the Koran and define their way on its path? When will hands join against the infidel enemy? When will these Muslim hands stretch to their brothers instead of being stretched to the enemy? In short, these are the call and goals of the Islamic Republic. This is the call of the imam, great Khomeyni.

CSO: 4604/4

# MAJLIS SPEAKER PREDICTS END OF WAR WITH IRAQ BY 1982

Tehran TEHRAN TIMES in English 4 Oct 81 p 1

[Interview with Hojjatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, Majlis speaker, date and place not given]

[Text] TEHRAN -- "If the existing conditions remain unchanged, it will not be possible for the Iraqi forces to stay in Iran in future weeks, or months" said Hojjatoleslam Hashemi Rafsanjani, Majlis Speaker and member of the Presidential Council in an exclusive interview with the TEHRAN TIMES.

Commenting on last Tuesday's air crash, he said that it was until now considered an accident unless the contrary can be proved. Rafsanjani further stated that if the Moslem and Arabic countries used their oil as a military weapon against Israel's supporters such as the U.S. and Britain, then Israel would soon collapse.

The full text of our reporter's exclusive interview with Rafsanjani follows:

Q: What is your idea on the future of the war and the Ba'athist mercenary Army with regards to the recent victories of the Islamic Republic combatants?

A: In the Name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Even before the recent victories we - according to the received data - believed that the Iraqi Army had lost its power of resistance and what our forces needed to do, was only to attack them using a carefully planned strategy. I was sure then that the Iraqis would either succumb or flee and we have already witnessed this to be so in some regions

and the East-Karoon operations proved us to be right.

Now, this belief is accepted by the majority of our Armed Forces and it is quite possible that we will launch more such raids upon the aggressors and certainly the more we proceed with attacks, the more victories we are going to achieve. If the existing circumstances do not change I can predict that in a matter of few weeks - or speaking more cautiously, a few months - our land will be purged of the Iraqis. Later on, Iraq shall be a defeated country and thus it will be we who can determine the conditions to end the war according to the damages inflicted upon the Iranian and Iraqi nations.

However, if nothing unexpected occurs, most certainly our forces will accomplish the defeat of the Iraqi aggressors before the end of the current year. Of course, we did not initiate the war in order to make our demands. We really intended to have peaceful relations with our neighboring countries. But since they started the war and caused us a great deal of damages, we have necessarily to think of the price the Ba'athists should pay for launching their insane war against us.

Q: Will you please let us know the outcome of the latest

investigations made on the crash of the Air Force C-130 plane?

A: The reports have been doubtful from the beginning. According to some of the reports, an unexpected malfunctioning caused the aircraft's four engines to stall.

Some farmers in the vicinity of the crash area had seen fire coming out of the plane when it was crashing. But the official investigating teams could not strongly confirm whether it has been an act of sabotage or not. Although they have not rejected the idea outright it could nevertheless not clearly be determined as to what had caused the crash. Even the pilot has not been able to give a clear account of the matter.

By the way, it is still possible that it was an act of sabotage. But we have not insisted on it for fear that it might be assumed that we wished to blame the opposition for the incident. From our point of view, therefore, we have for the present to regard it as an accident unless the contrary is proved.

Of course, according to the counterrevolutionaries' general policy who have tried to lessen the effect of our recent victory, we believed that they could have committed such a crime if they could. All those who were martyred in the crash such as Chief of

Staff, Fallahi, the Minister of Defense, Namju, the ex-Air Force Commander, Fakouri and the Deputy Commander of the IRGC, Kolahdooz were all involved in the East-Karoon victory.

Q: In the Quds Friday prayers you said that "If the Arabic countries do not export oil to Israel, we would be able to do away with it". Will you please explain?

A: I do not think that I asked (Arabic states) not to sell oil to Israel in that lecture. It's sure that they do not sell oil to Israel directly. It was the U.S. that I was talking about. I have always believed that it has been a U.S. and Western plot not to let the region's countries use oil as a political and military weapon, which is in fact a very effective one.

In that lecture I discussed that it was impossible to do away with Israel without using the oil issue. If one day we seriously engage ourselves in a war against Israel, we have to employ the oil issue to a very large extent. Wherever they get their oil from the U.S. and Western countries will also supply Israel with it. Oil is never a problem for Israel. Israel is a member - and since it is in a dangerous region, it is a dear one - to the family of Western imperialists.

What we say is that the Arabs and the Moslems must use their oil as a military weapon. In other words they should not sell oil to any country who supports Israel such as U.S., Britain, France, Germany and others. If only the Moslem and Arab countries employ their oil to put political and economic pressures on Israel and its supporters, without even being involved in a war, Israel will collapse in the very near future and we can already predict that.

Q: It has been admitted by you and other responsible brothers who have travelled

abroad that we have been negligent of foreign propaganda for exporting our revolution and in defense of it. What do you have in mind for overcoming such a problem, considering the fact that there is still no Islamic Revolution newspaper that is circulated worldwide?

A: Lack of good foreign propaganda is certainly felt by us and when we go abroad and make connections we feel even more this lack and how important it is to have a foreign propaganda organ to be able to talk to the people around the world.

The lack of an active foreign ministry in the past did not allow us to do anything in this regard. But now with Mr. Musavi in charge, the Foreign Ministry has been activated. All our embassies abroad should be furnished with cultural and press advisers. The Minister of Guidance must also take a good deal of interest and make greater effort in this regard.

We must invest more on the papers we have and try to distribute them throughout the world. We should invite and encourage honest reporters to travel to Iran and we must participate in more international meets and use them as forums to express our ideas. We should not isolate ourselves from global meetings and associations simply because they do not in all respects conform to our criteria. We have to be realistic and then seek out the good people who could invariably be found everywhere and let them know what we have to say.

Q: Will you please explain what plans and laws enjoy priority from a Majlis point of view?

A: We declared early in the current year that there were several basic matters to be decided by Majlis. Part of

them have already been discussed and approved such as the articles on political parties, the press, restructuring of governmental manpower, budget and urban lands.

There are some other bills which will soon be brought up in the Majlis like the issues of councils and the establishment of new institutions such as judiciary bureau for governmental offices, the States Inspection Organization and Judiciary Police Department.

It is hoped that with empty seats refilled in the near future, the Majlis will proceed with existing matters even more efficiently.

## CONCERN EXPRESSED FOR REMAINING IN WORLD BANK, IMF

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 19 Oct 81 p 2

[Comments by Governor of Central Bank Mohsen Nurbakhsh]

[Text] TEHRAN, Oct. 3 — Dr. Mohsen Noorbakhsh, the Governor of the Central Bank of Iran, on Wednesday, expressed Iran's views on the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and the reasons for Iran's continued membership in these organizations.

Dr. Noorbakhsh said: "The decision to stay in those organizations, was based upon the guidelines of the Foreign Affairs Minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran. According to these guidelines, we should use the international organizations to express the views of our country and help the oppressed countries free themselves from the yoke of dependence. It is quite clear that the US would be delighted if we were to leave the IMF and the World Bank, because its opponents would then be fewer in those bodies. In fact, our presence in those two places and the expressing of our revolutionary views, is another kind of struggle with US imperialism at the international level. Joint cooperation among the countries of the world is indispensable for the formation of international monetary and trade relations but this cooperation must be based on correct principles. Henceforward we'll fully support the formation of institutes like the World Bank and the IMF as long as its members have correct relations with each other."

Concerning the assessment of Iran of the world economic outlook presented to the IMF session, Dr. Noorbakhsh said: "The international economy is witnessing increased inequity, chaos in production, an increase in inflation, unemployment and successive irregularities in foreign exchange and interest rates. The industrial countries, like the US, on the one hand, by withholding all raw materials and on the other hand, controlling the foreign exchange markets export inflation and unemployment to the world, especially the developing countries. The stabilized increase in the US interest rates weakens the financial strength of the European countries and Japan confronting them with unemployment, social problems and economic inactivity and also, decreasing the limited access of the developing countries to the capital markets. Fluctuation of the interest rates destabilizes the foreign exchange rates and thus the developing countries, which are dependent on the exports of one or two goods for their survival, are the ones which are greatly affected by this. High interest rates decrease the possibility of social progress. They stop new initiatives and investments in various economic sectors and give rise to non-productive activities, without greatly reducing inflation, but worsening unemployment. Only the industries allied with the governments are immune from

these dangers of the changes of interest rates. The arms industries in particular are not affected. At this moment the economies of the industrial countries, especially those of the US, are becoming militarized. This has endangered the international peace.

"The floating system of exchange rates has not helped normalize the economies of the countries and the balance of payments. It has even forced countries to keep a greater amount of the foreign exchange reserves." Dr. Noorbakhsh added: "This IMF system, not only has not stabilized foreign exchange markets and rates, but it has further complicated the international monetary system. The International Monetary Fund, which belongs to all its members and must according to its constitution, work for the goals such as the development of international monetary cooperation, a balanced growth of international trade, raising and maintaining employment and real revenues, the development of the productivity of all its members, a stable and orderly foreign exchange system has so far, not been able to meet those goals. As long as the existing constitution does not change to the benefit of the majority of its members, any of their efforts, albeit with goodwill will be ineffectual. The voting power and the share of the developing countries in the IMF must increase, but due

to the shortcomings of the constitution, the important decisions of the Fund are taken by 80 to 85 percent of the majority votes.

"The US with more than 20 percent of the votes has always been able to stop any decisions against its interests. In fact, the US has de facto veto power in the International Monetary Fund. This country has never acted according to its own responsibilities to preserve stability and the international monetary balance. The US measure to freeze all the Iranian assets in the US and elsewhere, shows that whenever a country decides to be independent from all, the US will violate all international regulations even what it itself respects, namely, private ownership. The freezing of our assets has no political or economic justification. This was directed not solely at the Islamic Revolution of Iran, but at any country which might wish to be independent of imperialism, and advocates the decrease in trust in banks. Following this, all our efforts to pay back all the loans to the US, have been paralyzed by the direct cooperation of the US banks with the US government to the extent that the Iranian government has been accused of not being sincere in its commitments despite its good credit record. After the Algerian Agreement, Iran paid back all its loans at one time. Now when our country is entangled in the war with the Iraqis and is in great need of its exchange reserves, it respects all its commitments and will continue to do so. This is at a time when the complaints of Iran to the IMF have been fruitless. It was crystal-clear in the beginning that the US will jawbone on all these issues.

"We are aware of the fact that the international monetary crisis must not be blamed on the IMF, because at present the IMF has been turned into an instrument of the US government. The main responsibility is that of the US. The fact that the IMF blames the

imbalance of payments, and especially the surplus of the oil exporting countries for the international monetary instability, is very unjust. Except for a handful of the oil exporting countries which sell oil beyond their financial needs and spend its revenues for purchasing lethal arms and storing them thus adding to the international and regional tensions, the independent oil exporting countries, have always been threatened by the western oil companies' various threats, sanctions and impediments of all kinds. The money the OPEC members receive for their oil is less than what they received in 1974 prices. This is at a time when these countries are exporting on the one hand, their vital natural resource and on the other hand, importing in its place, not the capital goods of the west, but the goods which only encouraged increased consumption of the white elephant industries of the west.

"Instead of solving them themselves, the western countries, intend to export their own problems to other countries, especially the developing countries. The budget deficit of the industrial countries has always been the main reason for the instability of the international monetary system. Enormous amounts of money are being consumed without benefit by the US to produce the lethal neutron bomb."

The Governor of the Central Bank of Iran said "All these points have been told by our representatives in the IMF session and the Iranian mission has asked for the eradication of these problems through constructive discussions."

About the possible membership of the PLO in the IMF and the World Bank, the Governor of the Central Bank of Iran said: "Since the UN General Assembly recognized the PLO in 1978, the PLO according to the UN Charter is a member of the UN organizations. In 1979, Dr. Walid Kamawi, the Head of the National Fund of Palestine, asked for official participation of the PLO in

the two organizations as observers, but the US promptly opposed it along with other western countries. Then after the request of the PLO, the official request was given to the Group of 77 to be further studied and the Group supported the PLO. The request was later given to a joint group to be studied but due to the composition of the group, their work was deadlocked. In the future session the PLO request will be presented again and Iran will back it fully."

## TAX PLANS ENVISIONED TO REPLACE OIL REVENUES

Tehran BURS in Persian 18 Aug 81 pp 1, 6

[Text] In the future, tax revenues must replace oil revenues. The present tax rates and the system of tax collection are undesirable. Certain committees have been formed in the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance to devise short-term tax plans. Income taxes and property taxes will be included in the new plans. Income taxes will decrease and taxes on private trade will increase. Bring any undeclared wealth which is subject to taxation to the attention of the authorities.

With the ratification of the general national budget, once again the attention of the public and especially that of economists has been drawn to the almost always important issue of general revenue resources for the government. The economic team of PARS NEWS AGENCY, because of the vital importance of this issue, finds it necessary to bring this issue to the attention of our fellow citizens through a report. Obviously, the government as the servant of the people requires revenues to provide for its needs, to offer services, and to make essential investments in the country. And naturally, these revenues must come from some source. In various countries of the world, taxation is recognized as one of the major sources of government revenue. Of course, the importance of this source depends on the activity of the private sector and the control and supervision of the government over it. In our country, due to the nature of the previous dependent regime, despite the profitable business transactions of the private sector, the volume of collected taxes was small and, then, it came from the indirect taxation of low-income people. The largest portion of government revenues was provided through the sale of oil; in other words, it was the most important source of national income. A study of the makeup of government revenues from 1352-1358 [21 Mar 73-20 Mar 80] reveals that tax revenues made up about 22 percent of the annual income of the government. With the Islamic revolution of our country putting an end to the previous dependent regime, it is the religious and patriotic duty of every Iranian to help the government to the best of his ability. One way to help is to pay the rightful taxes. In order to increase the

percentage of tax revenues in the total income of the government and consequently to reduce government dependence on the sale of oil, and, given the fact that the business sector seems to be thriving since the revolution, it is necessary to implement basic changes in the rate of tax revenues as well as the system of tax collection. In the decade before the revolution, and even after the revolution, due to the dependent, single-product economy of the country, the percentage of oil and natural gas revenues constantly increased. In 1347 [21 Mar 68-20 Mar 69], it was 48.5 percent, reaching 63.4 percent in 1357 [21 Mar 78-20 Mar 79]. The increase of tax revenues was, to a great extent, a reflection of the expansionist operations of the government in various economic sectors. After the revolution and since 1358 [21 Mar 79-20 Mar 80], different policies have been implemented. In the beginning, the transitional government, by granting exemptions to delayed tax debts and increasing tax exemptions, took certain steps to help taxpayers. The implementation of these policies along with the decrease in the imports and the slow down of the activities of the government and private companies in '57 [21 Mar 78-20 Mar 79], resulted in a decline in tax revenues by 18.6 percent in 1358 [21 Mar 79-20 Mar 80]. The 463.7 billion rials of the previous year reduced to 377.4 billion rials. During this year, with the formation of national concurrence committees [komitehha-ye tavafoq-e melli], the owners of private businesses were relieved of the payment of back taxes to a great extent. Taxes on businesses were stopped at 8 billion rials as this decrease continued. In '59 [21 Mar 80-20 Mar 81], taxation rates on inheritance and on salaries changed. This added an insignificant amount to government revenues. Of course, this cannot answer the numerous difficulties of the government. It appears that in order to increase its revenues, the government must address itself to other areas for taxes, such as businesses, consumption, and sales, which have the capacity for more rapid growth.

Since the revolution, due to the particular economic conditions, most businesses have been thriving. Inefficiency in the tax collection system in this tax area has, despite the growth of the activities of the private sector and the bazaar resulted, on the whole, in business taxes remaining an insignificant portion of the government tax revenues since 1353 [21 Mar 74-20 Mar 75]. Under present circumstances, with the dire need of the government to provide for its vital expenditures from domestic sources and, also, the lack of resources to implement essential changes in the tax system on a short-term basis, the only practical solution to increase revenues is to collect taxes from the owners of trades and businesses. In this regard, the government revenues can be increased to a reasonable extent, relative to the conditions of the market, with proper revision of the rates of taxes on businesses.

In regards to the increase in government tax revenues, PARS NEWS AGENCY held an interview with Engineer 'Ezzatollah Sahabi, director of the budget committee of the Islamic Consultative Assembly, and

with Mohammad Qasem Mohammadian, the deputy of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, which follows.

Engineer Sahabi pointed out the role of taxes in the national economy and said: By devising a sound tax policy, we can provide for government expenditures. Also, we can benefit from taxation by either balancing incomes and providing encouragement or, on the other hand, we can freeze incomes and activities. He added: I believe we must only use oil revenues for fixed, essential investments. Therefore, most of the current expenses of the government must be provided for from taxes.

Sahabi added: Iranian governments before the revolution--due both to domestic policies as well as the fact that they were trying to implement foreign colonialist programs and continue the extraordinary dependence--firstly, indulged in the uncontrolled expansion of government organizations and creating expenses and, secondly, in order to quiet down the protestors, were forced to pay subsidies on numerous goods and services without taking essential steps. Also, these governments, in order to provide revenues, began to establish commercial, production, and service companies which, contrary to their expectations, showed losses. For instance, the losses of these companies for the government last year came to about 200 billion rials. Engineer Sahabi added: Therefore, we must devise a policy whereby the 2,200 billion rials of current expenses for this year will be obtained from taxes or government revenues. I think a major portion of this amount can be obtained from taxes. Of course, it must be noted that the major source should be direct taxation. Obviously, the intention in collecting more taxes is to directly tax private businesses, because, unfortunately, since the revolution, the largest collected tax figure has been on incomes. Direct income taxes on private business has been an insignificant figure. This was for two reasons:

(1) Tax rates and (2) the system of tax collection.

Tax rates in our country have not yet conformed to actual economic and social conditions. The rates must be set such that with the increase of the individual's income, the percentage of his taxes also increases, so that on a set income level, tax rates reach 100 percent. With little calculation, it becomes clear that the average tax rate will be 50 percent. That is, on the average, 50 percent of the income of the private sector should be paid to the government in taxes.

Engineer Sahabi added: The income of the government employees in this year's budget is close to 900 billion rials. Noting that according to statistics, 80 percent of these incomes are lower than 50,000 rials per month, no more taxes can be collected on these incomes. We can only increase the taxes of organizations which are

not subject to national employment, and that alone will create an increase of 40-50 billion rials. However, the general national revenues will not stop at such a figure.

The national revenues in 1359 [21 Mar 80-20 Mar 81] amounted to a figure of about 5,000 billion rials. When salaries are deducted from this amount, 4,100 billion rials are attributed to private business. If 2,000 billion rials of these are collected on the basis of a 50 percent tax rate, the government will have no problems. But, you see that the total tax revenues of the government for the current year have been estimated at 544 billion rials, a figure which is about one fifth of the rightful government tax revenues. Of course, the fact remains that collecting such taxes depends on economic and production growth and we are a long way from such a situation. There are several reasons for this:

(1) Tax rates, instead of being at 50 percent are somewhere around 33 percent, and must, therefore, be increased.

(2) The tax system is very weak. Tax officials do not collect the correct amount of taxes from the main people with incomes, such as merchants, importers, physicians, and all the owners of private businesses. (3) Tax officials do not have sufficient regulations and standards at their disposal for the collection of taxes.

Except for companies, real persons, including merchants, private workshops, physicians, various middlemen, etc., do not record their transactions or record them falsely.

Security deposit [sargofli] transactions are not recorded anywhere. The transactions of middlemen are handled from homes and over the telephone. And there are other transactions which take place without the knowledge of the government.

Engineer Sahabi added: The tax problems of the country concern the reformation of the tax collection system. It must be noted that we have competent tax officials who can determine the income of individuals without looking at their books. Of course, we cannot deny that we have a shortage of responsible, competent officials. This problem must be solved at all cost. We must train conscientious, religious, and responsible tax assessors.

In addition to the training of tax assessors, the financial and economic system of government must also be reformed. People's wealth must be recorded. The annual income of individuals must be determined. We must provide tax booklets for every individual.

The total present and non-current income of individuals must be subjected to taxation.

The head of the budget committee of Parliament also pointed to the increase in prices of unnecessary and luxury items, which are presently sold on the black market many times their true value, as another short-term source of government revenues and demanded an investigation into the matter. On this point, Mohammad Qasem Mohammadian, the financial deputy of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, said: Obviously, government tax revenues must provide for more of the general expenditures in the budget. Of course, this depends on taxation in connection with economic growth and gross national production.

A look at the tax rates of industrial nations shows that these rates are generally below 50 percent. In Iran, from 1340-1357 [21 Mar 61-20 Mar 79], collected taxes made up 3-4 percent of the national revenues. Since the revolution, the possibility for increasing tax rates to 50 percent does not exist. Given the economic condition of the country and the fact that the economic apparatus has collected 90 percent of the taxes from taxpayers during the revolutionary years, and given the present status of the companies and the closure of alcohol-producing factories, this issue becomes more clear.

Mohammadian added: Attributing the differences in incomes, injustice, or any other factor contributing to the accumulation of wealth and the increase in the wealth of the rich to taxation is not correct.

Essentially, in an Islamic society, this kind of profiteering and increase of income through stockpiling, monopolies, etc. must not be allowed. He added: Therefore, first, the distribution and pricing systems must be corrected and controlled, because, if this situation continues, even if we succeed in collecting taxes off illegitimate incomes, these taxes will directly increase the price of goods and services and, in fact, will add to the burden of the downtrodden. In our opinion, the government must first implement Principle 29 of the Constitution, according to which the government must confiscate the money obtained through illegitimate means, such as bribery and stockpiling, and return it to its original owners.

The tax deputy of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance then raised the issue of the difficulties of tax officials. He said: One of our main problems is the shortage of a responsible tax cadre and the need to strengthen the work tools. In this regard, reconstruction and reforms are necessary. Also, permission must be given to employ a youthful, responsible, and revolutionary cadre and tax officials must be given sufficient financial resources to take care of their needs. In this connection, in accordance with the ratification by the Parliament, one half percent of the tax revenues

is allocated to the training, hiring, and encouragement of tax employees. Also, the lack of a comprehensive, restrictive tax law and irresponsibility on the part of a number of taxpayers are among our other problems. For example, doctors do not have invoices and expense receipts. Therefore, they can fail to report their true number of patients and their fees.

The law does not require private businessmen and tradesmen to keep records. Middlemen and investors who do not have specific places of business and who gain their incomes without physical exertion do not pay any taxes. Unfortunately, the law provides for tax exemptions which most industries take advantage of. Presently, these tax exemptions are being studied and steps will be taken to ensure that only nationally needed industries and the producers of basic goods will be exempted. Agricultural exemptions will continue as before. Mohammadian added: The taxpayers' failure to keep records, their lack of knowledge of the tax laws, lack of coordination between the growth of tax resources and the growth of human resources, and the lack of a set of centralized data on economic statistics for tax purposes are among our other problems.

The tax deputy of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance, concerning the current and future plans of this Ministry, said: It has been two months since the committee to devise a direct tax law was formed. All experts who believe in religious guardian jurisprudence are invited to present their views to this committee. This committee hopes to devise a comprehensive tax plan in which property taxes will also be taken into consideration. Another committee has also been formed in this Ministry to devise emergency projects. Of course, we believe that after the revolution, no extensive steps have been taken to balance wealth. Therefore, the implementation of Principle 49 of the Constitution must precede the heavy taxation of the wealthy. In this area, my tax colleagues have declared their readiness to cooperate professionally with the concerned institutions.

Mohammadian added: It is said, on occasion, that last year the private sector made a certain amount of profit without paying taxes; but this is not accurate, because the taxes belonging to the last fiscal year are collected at least a year and a half after the end of that fiscal year. Reliable statistics show that in the first four months of '60 [21 Mar-22 Jul 81], taxation of companies increased by 53 percent over the same period in the previous year.

He added: In the plan being prepared, income tax exemptions will increase. In fact, the ratio of taxes on incomes will decrease and taxes on income obtained from work and investment (businesses) subject to taxation will increase. In conclusion, the tax deputy of the Ministry of Economic Affairs and Finance requested responsible fellow citizens to report to this ministry in writing, with documentation, any tax frauds, unidentified wealth, and, on the whole, any tax evasion. They can rest assured that this information will only be used for the collection of taxes and will be considered absolutely confidential.

QOM SCHOLARS URGE EGYPTIAN MUSLIMS TO RISE

LD110850 Tehran PARS in English 1633 GMT 10 Oct 81

[Text] Tehran, 10 Oct (PARS)--The scholars of the Qom Theological School today, in a message addressed to the Muslim people of Egypt in connection with the worldwide Islamic movement which in Egypt led to the assassination of al-Sadat, called on the Muslim people of Egypt to continue their struggle with complete firmness and strength.

One part of the message said that today the Egyptian nation was responsible to (?rest) control over events in Egypt from the United States which has been shakened by recent events in Egypt, and to continue their efforts still [for the] establishment of justice without fearing any of the empty threats of the U.S. and not to allow another corrupt agent to be imposed upon them.

The message further added that it was the responsibility of the religious leaders and committed students to fulfill their God-given obligations to lead the Egyptian nation which has now arisen to attain its rights. They should [words indistinct] hand in hand with the masses of people take to the streets and break the shackles of captivity one after another and (?not) given in to the satanic orders of the diabolists and return Egypt and the Egyptian people to the glory of Islam. Towards this goal God almighty is behind them, continued the message. At the end the scholars said that while they supported the Muslim people of Egypt and all the oppressed nations of the world, who awaited seeing Islamic justice implemented in their societies, invited them to resist and to adhere to unity of expression for the will of righteous would be victorious and the destiny of al-Sadat is awaited his colleagues. [Sentence as received]

CSO: 4600/51

IRAN

ANTI-SAUDI PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN BEGUN

NC130106 Paris AFP in English 0018 GMT 13 Oct 81

[Text] Tehran, 13 Oct (AFP)--The Iranian revolutionary regime has begun suggesting that King Khalid of Saudi Arabia might suffer a fate like Egyptian President al-Sadat.

Open criticism of the Saudi establishment started as a result of recent clashes in Mecca between Iranian pilgrims and Saudi police when Iranians disturbed prayers in the great mosque by chanting "death to Israel and to its guardian, the United States."

Iranians were also arrested for hanging pictures of Iranian spiritual leader Ruhollah Khomeyni and Iranian flags on buses in Mecca.

The newspaper AZADEGAN editorialized here yesterday: "The Saudis are mistaken if they think they can carry out the mission assigned by Washington to vanquish the true Islam (the Iranian pilgrims) with boots and weapons.

"With the (American) AWACS (radar warning planes) and the aid of America and Zionism, Khalid wants to put the sky over the most sacred place in Islam under control of Islam's real enemies."

The newspaper concluded that the Saudi version of Islam was "American Islam" and said King Khalid was afraid "of having the same destiny as al-Sadat."

The day after Egypt's president was assassinated, the newspaper ISLAMIC REPUBLIC published by Iran's ruling Islamic republic party warned that leaders of other Moslem countries would risk "instability" and "the same end as al-Sadat" if they failed to rely for backing on Moslems alone.

Then Ayatollah Khomeyni threatened that Islamic leaders who no longer relied on God "but on earthly powers like the Soviet Union and United States" would be annihilated by their own peoples.

Mecca Governor Prince Majid ibn 'Abd al-'Aziz served notice last week that Saudi Arabia would "not allow trouble-makers (Iranians) to use the pilgrimage to Mecca for non-religious purposes."

Iran's minister of Islamic orientation Hojjat ol-Eslam Abdolmajid Moadika, who was himself in Mecca at the time, replied: "If this gathering of Moslems cannot mobilize against Israel, then it is no longer the 'hajj' (the pilgrimage to Mecca every Moslem is expected to go on once in his lifetime)."

It is a religious duty to shout "death to Israel" and "death to the anti-Islamic super-powers," he affirmed.

CSO: 4600/51

IRAN

PILGRIMS MARCH THROUGH MECCA

LD121736 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1630 GMT 12 Oct 81

[Text] According to the Central News Unit, following the release of Imam Khomeyni's message to the Saudi Arabian Government, thousands of Iranian pilgrims assembled in groups this morning in [word indistinct] square, near Abotaleb cemetery. The demonstrators later staged a march, led by invalids of the revolution, to protest the treatment accorded to Iranian pilgrims by the Saudi security and police. The marchers carried pictures of Imam Khomeyni, leader of the revolution, and banners against the world devourer, America, and against the occupying regime in Jerusalem. They were under intense control by the Saudi security forces. The marchers chanted slogans calling for Muslim unity, death to America and death to Israel, death to the enemies of Islam, neither West nor East, and Islamic revolution.

The demonstrators passed the vicinity of God's house and were received warmly by other pilgrims.

According to the same report, slogans such as "There is no God but God," "Israel, enemy of God," "God is one, Khomeyni is the master" could be seen in Mecca today, and the Muslims' anger against their archenemy, America, gave Mecca a special anxiety.

The marchers sat down opposite Safa and Marveh [two points between which the pilgrims run as part of the Haj ceremonies] and chanted the slogan "God is great, there is no God but one God." They attracted the attention of their sister and brother Muslims to the call of the Islamic revolution, and prayed for the victory of the Islamic revolution.

The marchers later entered God's house and conducted noon-time prayer along with other Muslims.

CSO: 4600/25

CLANDESTINE RADIO ON COMMUNISTS' GOALS IN IRAN, REGION

NC140232 (Clandestine) Voice of Iran in Persian 1805 GMT 12 Oct 81

[Unattributed talk]

[Excerpt] (?What is important is to see why, despite the clamitous situation created in Iran and the regime's destructive policies, the Tudeh Party continues to support Khomeyni.)

(?1. The reason why the communists, led) by the Tudeh Party and assisted by the Soviet Union's (?numerous spies and experts, who were given a free hand after the establishment of Khomeyni's regime), support Khomeyni and his rotten regime with all their political, economic and ideological might, and with [words indistinct] of their vast underground organizations in Iran--they are watching any [word indistinct] and anti-Khomeyni trend and hand over opponents to the pitiless judges and shar' magistrates [words indistinct] even if the opponent is only an adolescent--is because the continuation of Khomeyni's rule is of vital importance as far as the establishment of the communist system in Iran is concerned.

2. The continuation of the anti-Islamic rule of Khomeyni and of his (?supporters) will definitely weaken the people's deep and true religious feelings which, in the past, were the main obstacle facing the progress and infiltration of communism in Iran, and the crimes committed by the clerical regime will help incline the people toward communism.

3. The Soviet Government, which directed and led and continues to direct and lead the Iranian Communists topped by the Tudeh Party in all stages and conditions, has been able to denigrate its rival, the United States, in Iran and to inflict the greatest damage on the United States' international credibility. At the same time the Soviet Government [words indistinct] and thinks that by the hands of Khomeyni, in the name of religion and by supporting the world's oppressed it can implement the same programs and plans in the remaining Middle East and Persian Gulf countries. You recall how this program began in the first months of Khomeyni's rule under the title of "exporting the Islamic revolution to other countries of the world," and you can see how it still continues. All that happened in Mecca, Medina and other parts of Saudi Arabia during the Haj ceremonies were preliminary to a riot which was prepared and which was foiled because of the vigilance of that country. Iraq too was the target of Khomeyni's danger before any other country, and, in a bid to prevent the fanning of the flames of chaos,

Saddam Husayn ousted tens of thousands of Muslims who could have been affected by the venomous propaganda of Khomeyni and his agents. Since he did not consider this measure sufficient, he committed a mistake by starting the war against Iran, the result of which was the continuation of Khomeyni. (?Undoubtedly) the Iranian nation's nationalism and patriotism were hurt by this act and, disregarding their domestic enemy, the Iranians rose to fight against the foreign aggressor first. Similarly, the other Persian Gulf nations have also been targets of the instigations of Khomeyni and his agents, and it is not at all clear what sinister fate similar to that of Iran's is awaiting them if all of them don't resort to a logical and collective act to remedy the situation.

Nevertheless, the potential danger facing Khomeyni and the Soviet-led communists is the deep feeling of nationalism and patriotism of the Iranian nation which has risen to struggle both with black reaction and with red colonialism. Those zealous and patriotic youths who are the targets of the pitiless bullets of the regime's mercenaries and revolution guards are the biggest obstacle facing the reactionaries and communists. The more the criminal and treacherous regime and the antinational [words indistinct] (?communists) increase their bullying, the more zealous and extensive the struggles of the patriotic youths, the firmer their resolution to free Iran, the more impenetrable their raging movement and the louder become their voice that can be heard throughout Iran shouting "Good by Islamic Republic."

CSO: 4600/25

# INDIAN WRITER ASSESSES 'THE BANI-SADR EPISODE'

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 4 Oct 81 p 2

[Letter from Abdulla Mujahedi]

[Text] *The Managing Editor,  
Kayhan International.*

*Dear Sir,*

*I have for many years taken keen interest in Iranian affairs which increased with the advent of the glorious Islamic Revolution under the leadership of Imam Khomeini.*

*With the start of Ba'athist Iraq's naked aggression against Iran on 22nd September 1980 and events which followed the ousting of Mr. Banisadr, I had time and again to go to the press on this side to put the record straight with the critics of the Islamic Revolution in Iran. In this connection, I send herewith an article entitled "The Banisadr Episode" which I have sent to an Indian weekly and which is expected to be published soon and I hope it will find a place in your esteemed newspaper and also the Farsi edition after translation.*

*On the occasion of the first anniversary of Iraq's aggression against Iran, I convey my salutations to Imam Khomeini, the martyrs who laid down their precious lives for Islam and Iran and the brave people who are continuing the sacred struggle against armed aggression and international gangsterism. God is with you and final victory is yours — Inshallah.*

*With kindest regards and salaams,*

*Yours faithfully,*

**ABDULLA MUJAHEDI**

## The Banisadr Episode

Ever since the start of the revolution in Iran to overthrow the monarchy, it has been observed that the proponents of the old order in the West and some others are not prepared to take a realistic view and are doing all in their power to belittle and harm the young Islamic Republic. It is clear that the opponents of the Islamic Republic of Iran, because of their inherent prejudices are so blinded that they are just not capable of making a proper assessment of the situation with its historical background and the human endeavor involved.

It took a bloody revolution to overthrow the powerful and despotic monarchy and make the world at large believe that the Shah had after all to go and this is now more than confirmed by every writer on the subject. A study of the autobiography of the Shah will also convince any intelligent reader that he and his friends stand self-condemned.

However, when things did not turn out as hoped for by the imperialists, they turned jittery not only because of what they would be losing in Iran but also because of what they stood to lose in the area if the new movement was to spread. Accordingly, the old and new imperialists with their hangers on could just not stomach the will and aspirations of the Iranian people and we see their devilish efforts directed against the Islamic order established in Iran.

The opponents believe that in the ouster of Mr. Banisadr and his escape they have a golden opportunity to beat down the Islamic Republic of Iran. How naive they are. These very people did not

have a good word for Iran even when Mr. Banisadr was president and the most blatant example of their animosity was their ostrich like attitude in respect of Ba'athist Iraq's naked aggression against Iran. What Iraq could not achieve for the imperialists, they hoped to secure through the Banisadr episode. Overnight the ousted president becomes a great liberal and modernist Muslim, a fine product of French education and, above all, one who understands Islam best. It is really like the devil quoting the scriptures. I have elsewhere outlined the role played by the clergy in Iran for around 150 years in the struggle against the despotism of the monarchy and the exploitation by foreigners.

The recent revolution which culminated in the establishment of the Islamic Republic of Iran had its roots in the movement led by Ayatollah Khomeini in Qom during 1961-1963 which resulted in great bloodshed and his deportation. He continued his activities from abroad and people are more or less acquainted with the developments in 1978 and early 1979 when the Shah had to leave. Mr. Banisadr was one of the persons opposed to the rule of the Shah and served a short term in jail. He took residence in Paris when he came close to the Mujahideen Khalq Organization ('Iran Quest for Security' by Dr. K.R. Singh). In October 1978, he got in touch with Imam Khomeini in Paris and returned with him and others to Tehran on 1st February 1979.

Banisadr was very much in the picture with the drafting of the new constitution under which he was elected president with the blessings of Ayatollah Khomeini. However, the wolf in sheep's clothing soon started showing his true colors and did everything to undo the constitution under which he was elected president. Ayatollah Khomeini made every effort to educate Banisadr and get him on the right path but to no avail.

Events came to a head and the people asked for his impeachment and ouster. Having realized which way the wind was blowing, Mr. Banisadr went underground from where he openly announced that he would overthrow the Islamic Republic by force.

In the meantime, he still hoped that the election for the new president would be a tame affair which would give him a chance. When there was a massive turnout, he decided that discretion was the better part of valor and escaped to Paris with Rajavi, the leader of the Mujahideen Khalq. So far so good. Immediately, there started big noises from all over that Iran has now had it because the great Mr. Banisadr has declared war against the Islamic Republic. What wishful thinking!

There is also plenty of noise about the action being taken against the terrorist elements bent upon creating chaos and anarchy and getting their orders from Paris. There has been severe criticism that the countermeasures are cruel and against human rights and what have you. Do the critics expect the authorities to sit with folded hands and allow the terrorists to run amok? It must be kept in mind that the terrorist organizations were the first to start the attack long ago when they did away with Ayatollah Motahhari, Dr. Mofatteh and the editor and other executives of a leading newspaper. On 26th June 1981 when Mr. Banisadr was underground, Hojatoleslam Sayed Ali Khamene'i in his sermon to the prayer meeting (Friday) made reference to the activities of the underground organizations and mentioned that they would soon be exposed.

The very next day when he was lecturing in a mosque, he was severely injured by a time bomb and on 28th June, the world was witness to the most dastardly act of the blow up of the Islamic Republican Party headquarters when 72 of the finest representatives of the Iranian people were martyred.

In the meantime, the cowardly attacks against all and sundry continue. Under the circumstances, I wonder what any fair minded person expects the authorities to do. The answer, of course, is quite clear.

Another gimmick or catch phrase put up by the critics of the Islamic Republic is that the 'Maktabis' (those belonging to the school and generally applied to the clergy) can hardly be expected to deliver the goods. What kind of goods, I do not know. However, it will be appreciated that the school is of the utmost importance in any revolution especially when it is 1400 years old and its teachings still hold good. We have seen non-clergy people like the late Dr. Ali Shariati and late Dr. Mostafa Chamran as shining examples of Maktabis.

The former was a revolutionary teacher and suffered much at the hands of the Shah's SAVAK. He obtained a doctorate in Sociology from Sorbonne University in France and has left behind a vast treasure of religious, social and political thought. Dr. Chamran obtained a doctorate in Electronics from the U.S.A. and was for many years leading a guerrilla campaign against the Israelis from South Lebanon. After the Islamic Revolution he returned to Iran, was made a member of the High Defense Council and was put in charge of the irregular forces and was killed in action in June.

The 22 member cabinet recently presented by the Prime Minister, Dr. Bahonar, consists of three clergy-men and the rest non-clergy, all Maktabis, highly educated and young. I consider the average age of the members of the cabinet at 38 years to be one of the lowest at present when compared to other countries.

Those who day in and day out ridicule the Iranian clergy, should take a little trouble and study Iranian history when they will realize the valuable part played by the people of God in the struggle against the despotism of the Iranian monarchy and foreign exploitation. Many examples can be given

but here it will suffice to mention a few from the book — "The Strangling of Persia" by the American — W.M. Shuster. The reference is to the Russian (Tsarist) 48 hours ultimatum to Iran of 29th November 1911 on cooked up charges and which among other things demanded an apology. Shuster writes as follows:-

"It was an hour before noon, and the Parliament grounds and buildings were filled with eager, excited throngs, while the galleries of the chamber were packed with Persian notables of all ranks and with the representatives of many of the foreign legations. At noon the fate of Persia as a nation was to be known.

"The Cabinet, having made up its mind to yield, (under British advice) overlooked no point, which would increase their chances of securing the approval of the Majlis. Believing, evidently, that the ridiculously short time to elapse before the stroke of noon announced the expiration of the forty-eight-hour period would effectually prevent any mature consideration or discussion of their proposals, the Premier, Samsamu's-Saltana, caused to be presented to the deputies a resolution authorizing the Cabinet to accept Russia's demands.

"The proposal was read amid deep silence. At its conclusion, a hush fell upon the gathering. Seventy-six deputies, old men, and young, priests, lawyers, doctors, merchants, and princes, sat tense in their seats.

"A venerable priest of Islam arose. Time was slipping away and at noon the question would be beyond their vote to decide. This servant of God spoke briefly and to the point. 'It may be the will of Allah that our liberty and our sovereignty shall be taken from us by force, but let us not sign them away with our own hands.' One gesture of appeal with his trembling hands, and he resumed his seat.

"Simple words, these, yet winged ones. Easy to utter in academic discussions, hard, bitterly hard, to say under the eye of a cruel and overpowering tyrant whose emissaries watched the speaker from the galleries and mentally marked him down for future imprisonment, torture, exile or worse.

"Other deputies followed. In dignified appeals, brief because the time was so short, they upheld their country's honor and proclaimed their hard earned right to live and govern themselves."

Critics of the Islamic Revolution have also made out that under the clergy there is no place for women in political activity and there again I could do no better than quote briefly from Shuster: "The Persian women since 1907 had become almost at a bound the most progressive, not to say radical, in the world. That this statement upsets the ideas of countries makes no difference. It is the fact.

"It is not too much to say that without the powerful moral force of those so-called chattels of the oriental lords of creation the ill-starred and short-lived revolutionary movement, however well conducted by the Persian men, would have early faded into a mere dis-organized protest. The women did much to keep the spirit of liberty alive.

"Having themselves suffered from a double form of oppression, political and social, they were the more eager to foment the great Nationalist movement for the adoption of constitutional forms of government and the inculcation of Western political, social, commercial and ethical codes. Equally strange is the fact that this yearning by the people received the support of large numbers of the Islamic priests, — a class which stood to lose much of its traditional influence and privilege by the contemplated changes.

"On another, more recent occasion, a large crowd of poor women came to the Atabak Park to demonstrate against me because the Treasury had been unable to pay the Government pensions, on which there was over a million dollars then due. The available funds had been necessary for the volunteer troops who had been fighting against the ex-shah.

"I had them told that they would be given an answer on the following day if they dispersed quietly, which they did. I then sent to one of the women's societies a simple explanation of our financial straits and the impossibility of paying these pensions because of the needs of the Constitutional Government with a request that they prevent any further agitation against the Treasury. Though it did not become possible to pay the pensions, there was never another demonstration by women on this account." (Mr. Shuster was the treasurer general of Iran in 1911)

Another famous writer on the subject of the constitutional revolution of Iran of 1906 is Mr. E. G. Browne and it will be interesting to give a brief quotation from his book "The Persian Revolution of 1905-1909" "Most of those who watched the Persian constitutional struggle were struck by the rare phenomenon of a popular movement in which the Clergy played so prominent a part, since this movement, if successful, could hardly fail to deprive them of a large part at least of their influence and power.

"It must be remembered, however, that, like the Irish priests, the Persian mullas are an essentially national class, sprung from the people knowing the people, and, if suspicious of administrative innovations, yet more suspicious of foreign interference. The movement which gradually became constitutional was, as we have seen, in its inception a popular protest led by the Clergy against the extravagance of the Court, which, to gratify its caprices, was ready to surrender the country into the

hands of foreigners and unbelievers. Without the support of the Clergy the people could neither have broken down the Tobacco Monopoly nor have extorted from the Shah a Constitution."

In an interview in Paris (The Observer, 9th August) Bannadr stated that while underground in Tehran, he learnt a great deal by reading Mujahideen Khalq literature. So the great liberal and democrat who claims to have spent twenty years in intense political activity and wants to lead Iran, has had to attend a refresher course at the Mujahideen Khalq school.

In the meantime, Banisadr stands exposed by his own lieutenant and leader of the Mujahideen Khalq, Rajavi. In an interview in Paris (the Observer 23.8) Rajavi stated that his earlier support for Ayatollah Khomeini was a "sham" and a tactical move to overthrow the Shah. Now, if Rajavi's support for Imam Khomeini was a sham, it becomes crystal clear that Banisadr's association with the Imam was also a sham and he has proved himself to be a Judas and a Trojan horse combined. So these cunning men took advantage of the upsurge of Islamic sentiment for their own rotten ends and engineered to amass weapons when the arsenals of the Shah were broken into by the faithful and simple followers of Imam Khomeini who mainly faced the bullets. And now these weapons are being used against the very people who sacrificed their all in toppling the powerful monarchy. The opponents of the Islamic revolution have nothing to get excited about because the people who could bring down the 2500 years of monarchy and more than hold their own against the Iraqi armies — which many thought would cut into Iran like a knife through butter — can, by the Grace of God, easily crush the aimless and misguided mercenaries.

CSO: 4600/57

## 'WAR WEEK' EXHIBITS COMBAT MOMENTOS

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 4 Oct 81 p 8

[Text] On the occasion of the 'War Week' several exhibitions were held throughout the country to show different aspects of the one-year old battle imposed on Iran by the Iraqi regime and its effects on the society. Among these exhibitions was one entitled "We are the War Men" held at Rudaki Hall in Tehran.

"We Are the War Men" is an exhibition of the bitter and sweet scenes of war and narrates the life of a people who battle valiantly and sacrifice themselves to defend their rights. The exhibition tells the story of the life of vagrants who abandoned their town and village with all they had saved after years of labor and hard work due to the aggression of the tyrannical regime of Iraq, but they know that it will not take long before they'll return to their homes victoriously.

The exhibition shows that characteristics, the power and talent Iran enjoys and how Iranians can provide the needs of their countrymen the most sensitive moments and separate and throw out the links of dependence by making various parts of military equipment and arms with their powerful hands.

"We Are the War Men" is a demonstration of the power and unity of the Muslim people of Iran which promises victory. The people who come to visit this exhibition sense the upcoming victory of observing the process of the war movements, the advance and cohesion of the combatant forces and the valiance of the heroic Iranian people.

The exhibition consists of various sections. At the center of the hall, the pictures and posters of the one-year old war are displayed. In other parts stand pavilions holding the military equipment of the army as well as some war spoils. Beside these arms, the equipment and military devices made by the personnel of the Army and the University Jihad are seen.

In the courtyard of Rudaki Hall, three captured Iraqi tanks are seen standing parallel to the three streets encircling the premises.

Past the entrance, at the beginning of the hall, part of a concrete shelter made by the Construction Jihad is displayed which reminds the visitor of the early days of the war, the yellow and red alerts and the underground shelters of houses and offices.

In the courtyard of the Hall, the smashed pieces of downed Tupolov and MiG fighters of Iraq, are symbols of the anti-aircraft defense of Iran.

The auditorium of Rudaki Hall is filled with pavilions exhibiting military equipment, photos, posters and paintings. In the center of the Hall, every picture depicts either a moment of heavy battle or the crimes of the aggressive Iraqi regime. We see homes in Abadan and Khorramshahr which have collapsed on the heads of their innocent dwellers and children who with their crushed skulls and mutilated bodies, illustrate the crimes of Saddam Hussein's regime.

The pictures and posters of the martyrs of the war remind everyone of the devotion and self-sacrifice of the brave children of Islamic Iran.

In a picture, we see a child who has lost one of his legs but still laughs and has no sign of despair and hopelessness on his face.

The pictures show how all the people ranging from the old to the young, and from men to women, have risen against the invading enemy and are fighting bravely.

Around the hall, various pavilions of the armament and military equipment of the three armed forces are displayed. In the pavilion of the logistic command of the Ground Forces, samples of spare parts from military vehicles and various parts of different factories affiliated to the army, are on exhibition.

Some of these pieces which have been presented to the view of visitors are: the firing pin of the 120 mm. mortar launchers, the

cooler for the dynamic of the Chieftan tanks. The pad of the 175 mm canon, the spring of the cooling system for anti-aircraft guns and the firing pin of the 106 MM. Gun.

In another pavilion a tripod for the 12.7 mm. or 50 Caliber anti-aircraft automatic gun is seen which has been modified by the army for its better functioning and sparing its crew from digging trenches.

The Iranian made RPG7 is also one of the interesting sights which draws much attention from the visitors in another pavilion samples of light arms like the G-3, UZI automatic guns which are used in the battle against the enemy have been collected.

In the same pavillion several specimens of spring antipersonnel mines which have been looted from the Iraqi forces are seen.

The director of the logistic pavillion of the army says, "Most of the pieces that are being displayed here have been made by our military personnel after the Revolution and especially in the wake of the imposed war. All of them are used in the war and they have proved capable in combat. In this way huge amounts of currency which used to leave the country for purchasing such arms have been saved.

The Havaniruz (air division of the ground force) has displayed the models of its various helicopters in another pavillion.

In this pavillion, the Cobra and Shaok helicopters which are used for raiding and transportation and have borne a major responsibility in the war, are familiar to everybody. The 214 and UH2 helicopters are among the other varieties which have been exhibited.

On the corner of the Havaniruz pavillion, a modern transistorized feeding source used for amplifying wireless attracts many visitors' attention. This device has been made by a research group in the telecommunications centers of Iran.

Beside samples of the war spoils including trench glasses, wireless and goniometers, a chart is hanging which gives an account of the year's activities of the Havaniruz.

According to this chart, the pilots of Havaniruz have managed to destroy 932 tanks, 241 cannons, 64 military vehicles, 16 munitions depots and 3 helicopters of the Iraqi army since the outbreak of

the war. This is only a part of the activities of our brave pilots.

The naval force of Iran have also displayed a number of its supplies and equipment and reminded us of its powerful presence in the war fronts. The models of some Iranian gunboats and the helicopters of the Naval force give news of Iran's naval strength.

Parts of the missiles and cannons possessed by the Naval Force are seen in these pavillions where their function and peculiarities have been described. The models of the "SAM" and "Hengam" warships, the amphibious chieftan tanks and the Sikorski helicopter as well as mine detectors are among the most interesting and spectacular samples of the Naval Force pavillion.

The director of this pavillion says, "In the very early days of the war the Naval Force of Iran almost completely destroyed the Iraqi naval force, and most of the arms which have been displayed in this pavillion have never been used against the enemy because of the weakness and incapability of Iraq's naval force.

On the wall of the Naval Force pavillion pictures of the martyrs of this force have been posted. Some of these pictures belong to the naval commandos who created epics of honor in the course of the war.

On another corner of the "We Are the War Men" exhibition the Air Force of Iran has presented to view models of its fighters and transportation airplanes.

This pavillion has caused the visitors to become more familiar with the activities of the Air Force.

The model of the F-14 fighter which has a speed 2.4 times as much as that of sound and a flight ceiling of 54,000 feet is seen in this pavillion.

This fighter bomber is capable of carrying a two-member crew and an assortment of missiles.

Also the models of the F-5 and C-130 planes are exhibited in the Air Force pavillion. The former is for war missions and the latter is for transportation and carrying parachutists.

In one of the corridors of the Rudaki Hall, samples of war supplies and ordnance which have been made by the Construction

Jihad and the University Jihad of Babolsar Township (Northern Iran), are shown.

Among these devices some anti-tank mines are on display. Several 40 and 60 piece grenades, manufactured by the Technical School of Babol (Northern Iran) are also among the arms which have been exhibited here on the occasion of the War Week.

Another part of this exhibition is allocated to semi-heavy arms used by the Ground Forces in the war.

The 81 mm mortar launcher, the G-3 automatic rifle, the 12.7 mm automatic gun, the "Tav" missile launcher, and the 106 mm gun are among the arms which have been displayed in this pavillion.

The director of the pavillion explains the specifications and functions of each of these arms to visitors.

In the upper storey of the hall, an audio visual exhibition, further introduces and explains some of the issues of the war to the people. In this section, various scenes of the war events and films on the life of the war-stricken people as well as the cooperation and mutual sympathy of the people during the war effort are shown to visitors.

BACKGROUND OF 'KUWAITI AFFAIR' AIRED

Tehran KAYHAN INTERNATIONAL in English 4 Oct 81 p 2

[Editorial by Zainab]

[Text] *On the morning of Thursday October 1, three Iraqi MiGs entered Kuwaiti airspace and in compliance with instructions given by their American masters, bombed Kuwaiti oil installations in the Om Al Ash region close to the Iraqi border. One of the MiGs was allegedly downed by Kuwait's anti-aircraft guns. The two others returned safely to their airbases inside Iraq to receive awards and encouragement from their imperialist masters.*

*As Iraq fulfilled its role in this novel imperialist conspiracy, the Yankee loudspeakers came into play along with the reactionary leaders of the region to finish the job for America's sake.*

*In order to give credence to the fabricated story of Israeli-Iranian relations and to isolate the ever spreading Islamic revolution, reactionary Arab leaders and the imperialist conspiracy thus launched against the piercing light rays of Islam. The devilish agents of America continue their propaganda war against the establishment of God's rule.*

*When studying events pertaining to the Islamic Republic of Iran, particularly when they are reported through dependent news media, the observer must be warned of traps and pitfalls prepared for him by American policy makers in their vast misinformation campaign against the Islamic movement.*

*Since the first sparks of the Islamic movement in Iran, imperialism has consistently exercised this method of misinformation and distortion in order to cover the authentic nature of this movement. Faced with the undefeatable progress of Islam and the inevitable spread*

of this movement throughout the region, America escalated its conspiracies in various fields in order to safeguard its vital colonial interests in the world.

From the start of the Iraqi aggression on the Islamic homeland vast plots were conceived to project Iraq as an anti-Zionist Arab state which had gone to war against a pro-Israel anti Arab state (supposedly Iran). To convey this false picture a whole chain of events was fabricated to the detriment of Iran beginning from the absurd Iraqi allegations, that it is anti-Zionist, to Israel's pretentious attack on the Iraqi nuclear plants and leading to the recent attacks on Kuwait's oil installations.

While exposing the depth of the imperialist conspiracy network, these fabrications signify the deep fear of Islam that has deprived America from all calm.

Even if we limit ourselves to the reports received through dependent news agencies on liberation movements throughout the world it would be sufficient to show that America has an evident reason for such fear. The recent Islamic uprisings in the region ranging from Tunisia to Egypt where the movement has greatly heightened, to Iraq and finally Saudi Arabia which has been seriously threatened by the Muslim Hajj gathering (an event which has been almost totally neglected by news agencies) increases this fear. The factors threatening Saudi Arabia following the revolutionary participation of Iranian Muslims and Muslims from liberation movements who succeeded in politicizing the event, have increased Reagan's anxiety to the extent that he actually confessed in his recent press conference that he would not allow Arabia to become another Iran. This he mentioned as a pretext for the sale of the AWAC's espionage planes to Arabia, a sale which is based on conditions of American control and the lack of any anti-Zionist activity. Of course Alexander Haig confessed the fact that the AWAC's were under American control by saying that they had monitored the so called Iranian planes which attacked Kuwait.

Hence, a new intrigue has been contrived to activate America's policy in the region, at a time when the victory of the Islamic forces over the Iraqi mercenaries on the war fronts and the American grouplets on the internal front has become evident. America's propaganda play has escalated now as it seeks a legitimate pretext under which it can deploy its rapid deployment forces in the region.

The fabrication of the Kuwait incident can be deduced through certain reports and claims such as the fact that

even Reuters asserts that diplomats were not allowed to visit the sight and domestic reporters were compelled to report only official statements in Kuwait.

World arrogance escalates a wider conspiracy against the Muslims, it is up to the downtrodden masses to increase their awareness and consciousness in the face of their plots. For when the Ummah adheres to Allah, He guides them to the straight path and to the light.

— ZAINAB

CSO: 4600/54

## IRAN

### BRIEFS

**BANDAR ABBAS PROJECT**--According to a Central News Unit report, the Italian ambassador to the Islamic Republic of Iran met and conferred this morning with Mr Mohammad Hadi Nezhad-Hoseynian, minister of roads and transport, at the latter's office. They discussed bilateral relations and it was decided that the implementation of Bandar Abbas Port project, which is under construction by an Italian firm, be expedited. [Text] [LD101164 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 10 Oct 81]

**PILGRIMS 'CLASH' WITH SAUDI FORCES**--According to a Central News Unit report from Mecca, all the Iranian pilgrims accompanied by their brother Muslims from other countries currently on pilgrimage to Mecca following a 3-day stay in 'Arafat, Mena, Raml and Jamarat, carrying the colors of the Islamic Republic of Iran and encircled by Saudi security forces, chanted slogans of revolution, Koran revolution, death to America and death to Zionism, Haj is a religious duty and Khomeyni is the leader. This was staged yesterday following midday prayers. The participants were encountered by Saudi security forces, which resulted in minor clashes. Several persons were arrested and sent to prison. [Text] [LD111132 Tehran Domestic Service in Persian 1030 GMT 11 Oct 81]

**ARREST OF RAJAVI'S PARENTS**--Agencies have reported that Mas'ud Rajavi's parents have been imprisoned in Mashhad on the orders of Tehran regime officials. Following this, one of Rajavi's relatives contacted UPI and stated that the leader of the Mojahedin-3 Khalq organization of Iran does not attach importance to his parents' arrest, since the parents of many are now being tortured and executed in Khomeyni's prisons. He also said that Mas'ud Rajavi's father is 84 years old and his mother is 75 years old and that both are suffering from a heart ailment. [Text] [NC101700 (Clandestine) Free Voice of Iran in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 10 Oct 81]

**IRANAIR DOMESTIC FLIGHTS**--The Iranair office in Shiraz has announced that four flights will operate between Shiraz and Bandar-e Lengeh each week. [GF110429 Shiraz Domestic Service in Persian 1500 GMT 10 Oct 81]

**ARREST OF MOJAHEDIN**--Tehran, 10 Oct (AFP)--A total of 67 people have been arrested in the provinces in recent days on suspicion of collaborating with opposition factions, the DAILY ISLAMIC REPUBLIC reported here today. In a break-down of the arrests the government party newspaper said that at Rasht, 200 kms (120 miles) northwest of here near the Caspian Sea, 39 members of "fringe groups with American links" were in custody, while at Gorgan, 250 kms (155 miles) northeast of Tehran,

three leftwing Mojahedin-e Khalq and two Marxist-Leninist Peykari were under arrest. Fifteen other Mojahedin had also been arrested in the same area at Babolsar, Ashrafiyeh, and Rudsar. The paper said that at Asnan, in the central provinces, "four monarchists connected with (the shah's last prime minister) Shapur Bakhtiar and the fringe groups" were found in possession of "arms, ammunition, playing cards, alcohol and opium, anti-Islamic tape-cassettes, and subversive books." In the Khuzestan capital of Ahvaz four "hypocrites" (official jargon for the Mojahedin-e Khalq) were being held for questioning, while another was arrested in the Gulf oil city of Abadan for "having dealings with the Iraqis," according to the Islamic prosecutor's office there. "The hypocrites have grown so weak today that they are forced to ask children to empty their money boxes in order to cover their spending," the report concluded. [Text] [NC101246 Paris AFP in English 1131 GMT 10 Oct 81]

PILGRIMS IN JIDDAH FREED--Jiddah, 11 Oct (PARS)--Jiddah Airport was prepared on Sunday for the return of the Iranian pilgrims back home. PARS correspondent reported that the Iranian pilgrims on their last day while marching towards the great Jamara for throwing stones at the Satan, were attacked by Saudi police. In this incident eight Iranians, among them five women, along with a number of black Muslims who had joined the Iranian demonstration were arrested. Latest reports reaching here indicate that two of the arrested persons have been freed. The Iranian pilgrims who were carrying portraits of Imam Khomeyni and the flags of the Islamic Republic also chanted revolutionary slogans condemning the great Satan and the usurper regime of al-Quds [Jerusalem]. This year the Iranian pilgrims were the third largest in number after Nigeria and Egypt. [Text] [LD111736 Tehran PARS in English 1622 GMT 11 Oct 81]

PILGRIMS RELEASED IN SAUDI ARABIA--Tehran, 12 Oct (PARS)--Thanks to patient and persistent efforts by the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran in Jidda, all of the Iranian Haj pilgrims arrested by Saudi officials on various charges, were freed prior to the commencement of the major and religiously indispensable Haj ceremonies enabling them to participate in these ceremonies. Some 47 Iranian pilgrims had been arrested, 16 of whom were women. This unexpectedly quick release for these pilgrims excited the wonder and admiration of other imprisoned persons who shouted "Long live Khomeyni" on seeing the Iranian pilgrims freed. This demonstration of credible efficiency and effective influence exercised by the embassy of the Islamic Republic of Iran (?impressed) the diplomatic community there. [Text] [LD121144 Tehran PARS in English 1040 GMT 12 Oct 81]

BATTLE ACTIVITIES ON WESTERN FRONTS--Tehran, 13 Oct (PARS)--The Islamic combatants killed 51 Iraqi soldiers during the past 24 hours in the war fronts of Zahab, Gilan-e Gharb, Sumar and Zil, destroying one enemy munitions carrier, one personnel carrier equipped with missiles and 23 group and individual bunkers. The report from Kermanshah added that exchanges of artillery and heavy arms fire continued in the fronts of Nowsud, Zahab, Qasr-e Shirin, Dalahj, Sumar and Gilan-e Gharb. [Text] [LD132136 Tehran PARS in English 1739 GMT 13 Oct 81]

BAHRAINI ISLAMIC FRONT MESSAGE--The Islamic Front in Bahrain [al-Jabhah al-Islamiyah in al-Bahrayn] has addressed a message to 'Ali Khamene'i, president of the Islamic Republic of Iran, on his election. The message says: We believe that this election is evidence that our region has entered a new phase with the aim of ridding Muslims of the tyrants' yoke. [Text] [GF111844 Tehran International Service in Arabic 1730 GMT 11 Oct 81]

## ANGLO-JAPANESE CONSORTIUM WINS CONTRACT

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT &amp; MEMO in English No 40, 5 Oct 81 p 3

## [Text]

Jordan has awarded a consortium of British and Japanese firms a £ 1 million consultancy contract for an electricity and telecommunications cables , production project aimed both at foreign and domestic markets. The consortium, sponsored by the Jordanian Pension Fund, is made up of the British companies Peat, Marwick Mitchell, and W F Johnson and Partners, and of the Japanese firm, Hitachi Cables.

Under the agreement, the contract will be carried out in several phases. The first stage of the work will consist of a detailed feasibility study, to be conducted over six months, including a market survey of Jordan, an analysis of the Jordanian economy and an estimate of demand for cables. This study will also have to outline the best strategy for breaking into the market and generating sales.

The second phase of the contract is made up of technical feasibility study covering processes, plant machinery, equipment, buildings, materials and personnel requirements. Financial evaluation of total capital needs and manufacturing costs, as well as forecasts of revenues and an assessment of the returns on the investment will comprise the third part of the consultancy work.

Furthermore, Peat, Marwick Mitchell will conduct "sensitivity analysis" of possible variations in key factors such as product prices, sales volumes, material costs, labour costs, overheads, energy costs and equity loan ratios. In certain cases, the British firm will develop special computer models to analyse the data.

If the initial feasibility study shows that the proposed product is viable, the next phases will be set in motion, covering the detailed design of factory and other buildings, construction and commissioning of the plant, and technical management and training.

Financing for the actual project will be provided by a consortium of Jordanian banking and investment interests.

Both British firms in the consultancy consortium have extensive experience in Jordan. Peat, Marwick Mitchell has undertaken a number of projects there for the Electricity Authority, the Phosphates Mines Company and the Municipality of Amman. W F Johnson is presently working on a consultancy contract with the Jordanian Armed Forces Social Welfare Fund which includes technical management and training.

CSO: 4400/18

## BRIEFS

U.S. AID GRANT--The U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) last week pledged over \$5 million to Jordan's National Planning Council. The money, which comes in the form of a grant-in-aid, is to promote agricultural projects in Jordan. According to a National Planning Council spokesman, the \$5.6 million dollars will be used for establishing a centre for agricultural services in Jordan, and developing technological knowhow. Under the agreement, USAID will provide two laboratories, one for water and soil analysis and the other to control agricultural pests. The spokesman said that the centre would also conduct research to overcome agricultural problems and improve production. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 40, 5 Oct 81 p 3]

CSO: 4400/13

## EXAMINATION OF POLITICAL FACTIONS

London 8 DAYS in English No 38, 26 Sep 81 pp 18-20

[Text] LEBANON'S three million people have produced a complex mosaic of political organisations and alliances. Sixteen religious sects and nearly 40 political parties have spawned more than 20 separate armed militias. The complicated patterns of loyalty make it extraordinarily difficult to keep abreast of political developments.

Lebanon's president is Elias Sarkis, a Christian who has remained in office since 1976. Sarkis is said to be backed by the 'silent majority' of Lebanese, but he has no organised support, no party or militia.

Prime Minister Shafiq Wazzen is head of Lebanon's Islamic Council. His cabinet reflects the traditional 'confessional' system, which allocates administrative positions to communal groups according to the pattern laid down in Lebanon's National Charter of 1943. Under this system the Christian communities dominated the administration, the judiciary and the army.

Sarkis's government enjoys only limited authority in Lebanon, for rival factions exercise de facto political control over most of the country. Where the government attempts to exercise its own authority it is through the Lebanese National Army. Lebanon's army largely disintegrated under the pressures of the civil war in 1975-1976, and this force under Victor Khoury is a product of the Army Law of 1979 which aimed to create a strong, independent body responsible only to the president and parliament. In addition, the government can call upon the Deuxième Bureau, which carries out certain policing functions.

The most effective nationally-organised force is that of the Arab Deterrent Force, established in 1976, and now largely composed of Syrian regular troops. The ADF

controls much of the environs of Beirut, the Bekaa Valley and Eastern Lebanon. Through the Higher Security Committee it coordinates with the forces of the Palestinian movement and those of the Lebanese left. The ADF can call upon some 20,000 men.

In the south a further external force — the UN Interim Force in Lebanon (Unifil) — passively patrols a 'neutral zone'.

Lebanon's political parties proper can be divided into three groups: the organisations of the Lebanese National Movement (the LNM), those of the Lebanese Front and a number of independent groups.

The LNM claims to speak for all the people of Lebanon — it does not differentiate on a confessional basis, although in practice it draws its support largely from the poorer layers of Lebanese society, and therefore principally from Muslims.

The LNM originated in the loose coalition of socialist, communist and Nasserist organisations formed under the Druze leader, Kemal Jumblatt, in 1969, and is committed to economic and social reform and to support for the Palestinian movement.

In 1972 the coalition achieved some electoral success, and in 1973 undertook its first military operations against Lebanese army units attacking Palestinian camps. In 1975 a formal alliance was declared, announcing a 'programme for reform'. This expressed opposition to the confessional system and to the conduct of the administration, judiciary and army.

In 1976 a Central Political Committee was formed, headed by Jumblatt, and later that year it started to liaise with the Palestinian organisations. Its executive committee includes representatives of all the major organisations of the LNM.

The movement cooperates with the Arab Deterrent Force, and organises locally in West Beirut, the coastal cities and the Bekaa Valley, those areas not under right-wing control. Its daily paper is *Al Watan*. The LNM coordinates 13 organisations, of which the most important are:

The Progressive Socialist Party, formed in 1949, also under Jumblatt. The PSP advocates Arab unity and a non-marxist form of socialism, being a member of the Socialist International group of parliamentary parties.

Although a wealthy landowner, Jumblatt occupies a special place on the Lebanese left, being the key figure in drawing together the alliance. On his death in 1977, the PLO announced: 'Jumblatt's death is for us as terrible as that of Nasser.' He was succeeded by his son, Walid.

The PSP experienced one serious setback, when it failed to coordinate its planned National Front of Lebanese parties with Syria in 1977. The PSP has an almost exclusive following in and around Jumblatt's village of Mukhtara in the Shouf, south of Beirut, and among the Druze communities of the central mountains.

The Independent Nasserist Movement is popularly known by the name of its armed wing, *Al Mourabitoun*, which emerged in 1975. The *Mourabitoun* organise under Nasser's slogan of 'Freedom, Socialism, Unity', and aim 'to provide charismatic leadership — Nasserism is not dead'. They are strongest in Beirut, having a large following among the poor of the Sunni Muslim population. The *Mourabitoun* leader is Ibrahim Qlaylat.

The Syrian Social Nationalist Party was formed in 1932 as the *Parti Populaire Syrien*. The SSNP stands for the unity of geographical Syria, including Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, today's state of Syria, and Cyprus — 'the Fertile Crescent with Cyprus as its star'. The SSNP was made illegal during the 1940s and again in the 1960s after a failed coup in 1961, which led to years of intense repression.

Its rather unusual development — drawing on both nationalist and socialist traditions — also led the SSNP during the 1950s into an alliance with Camille Chamoun's NLP against the Nasserists. The SSNP emphasises its expressly secular politics: 'We fight confessionalism — we are a 100 per cent lay party.' It draws its members from all sections of the population, having a large number of supporters in the

Phalange-dominated areas of Mount Lebanon, and a successful military wing still in action in the Metn mountains, within the Phalange stronghold. Its president is Inam Raad.

The Lebanese Communist Party was founded in 1932. Declared illegal in the mid-1950s, the LCP grew rapidly after re-acquiring legal status in 1970. Unlike most communist parties in the Middle East, the LCP engages in armed struggle. It has substantial support outside Lebanon in Tripoli, Sidon and Tyre, and though most of the membership is Muslim, many leading members are of Greek Orthodox origin. The LCP's secretary is George Hawi, and its daily paper is *Al Nida* ('The Call').

The Communist Action Organisation was formed in 1970 by a merger of the Organisation of Socialist Lebanese, led by Mohsen Ibrahim, and a group of independent socialists led by Fawwaz Trabulsi.

The organisations of the Lebanese Front are dominated by the Phalange, or *Kataeb*, which was formed in November 1936 under the leadership of the Maronite businessman, Pierre Gemayel. It was originally known as the 'Phalange Libanaïses', after the Phalange or militia units associated with European rightwing organisations in the 1930s.

The Phalange claims to represent the interests of the Christian community, and 96 per cent of its members are Christian, most of them Maronite. It argues for a return to the system prevailing before the civil war — Gemayel describes the 1943 constitution which guaranteed Maronite privileges as having been 'fashioned by geniuses'.

The Phalange is adamantly opposed to the presence of the Palestinians in Lebanon. Gemayel describes them as 'a fifth column'. Fighting under the slogan 'God, Family and Country', the Phalange regards its dispute with the PLO and the Lebanese left as 'a struggle against international communism'. It believes in the 'Phoenician destiny' of Lebanon, seeing the Christian population as different from and essentially superior to the Arabs of the region.

Gemayel, now 74, a member of parliament and an ex-president of Lebanon, remains the political head of the Phalange. His son, Bashir, is its aggressive military leader, commanding a well-trained militia (estimated as being at least 12,000 strong), armed and supplied principally by Israel. His eldest son, Amin, is also a leading member. Like his father, he often seems embarrassed by Bashir's 'megalo-maniac

violence'.

The Phalange controls the Maronite enclave occupying most of the northerly Mount Lebanon area. Its headquarters are at Jounieh.

The National Liberal Party, Al Ahrar, is led by a Maronite lawyer and businessman, Camille Chamoun. It was founded in the mid-1940s after Chamoun broke from Raymond Edde's Constitutional Bloc. Chamoun seeks an alliance with 'whoever allows the Christians to rule'. The NLP is committed to 'bringing the Palestinians to heel' and 'distributing' them among the Arab states. It wants 'a state based on Christian democracy'.

The NLP has long opposed the Syrian presence in Lebanon and is an especially vocal supporter of Haddad's Christian enclave in the south. The Chamoun family's traditional base was among the Maronite population of the town of Damour and the coastal area of the Shouf, south of Beirut.

The Zghorta Liberation Army of Suleiman Franjeh draws upon traditional support in and around the northern town of Zghorta. Franjeh was president of Lebanon during the civil war. Though he has cooperated with the other rightwing organisations, Franjeh has opposed Phalange plans for the partition of Lebanon and for collaboration with Israel. He enjoys good relations with Syria.

In January 1976 the organisations of the right formed a Front for Liberty and Man, and two months later announced the formation of the Lebanese Front (LF), creating a unified command, and declaring a general mobilisation of all Lebanon's Maronites. The LF was based upon the Phalange, the NLP of Chamoun, and Suleiman's Zghorta Liberation Army. It also included the small Maronite Order of Monks under Father Sharbel Qassis, the Guardians of the Cedars under Fuad Chemali and Etian Saqr, and the Maronite League of Shahr Abu Sleiman.

The organisations of the LF cooperated militarily during the civil war, when it was estimated that their joint backing from Israel reached some \$100m, but by 1978 the alliance had begun to break up. In May 1978 Franjeh's ZLA withdrew, and one month later members of Franjeh's family and 30 supporters were killed by the Phalange in the first of a series of incidents that led to a bloody vendetta. In 1978 and repeatedly in 1980 Phalange and NLP fighters also clashed in open battles over

territorial control within their Maronite enclave. By 1981 the Phalange had established its hegemony over the rightist forces.

Today the nominal president of the Lebanese Front is Camille Chamoun, but real power lies with the commander of the unified military wing, Bashir Gemayel.

An undeclared wing of the Lebanese Front is the militia of Saad Haddad. Haddad — a major in the Lebanese Army during the civil war — declared a 'State of Free Lebanon' in the area of the south bordering Israel, carrying with him a large section of regular Maronite troops. After the invasion of 1978 Israel put its 'security belt' under Haddad's control. This enclave is now thoroughly integrated into Israel economically, and is de facto a military extension of Israel northwards into Lebanon.

Although a participant in the Joint Committee for Military Cooperation, along with the PLO, the LNM and ADF, Amal, 'Hope', is a distinct movement. It is supported by many of the Shiite Muslim population, and has replaced the traditional Shiite leaders like Kemal Assad, with the backing of the clergy of the Shiite Higher Council.

Amal has enjoyed a swift rise to its present prominence. It was founded by Imam Musa Sadr on the basis of his Movement of the Deprived, which expressed the growing resentment of the many Shiites from South Lebanon who have traditionally been the most underprivileged in Lebanese society. Sadr, who had come to Lebanon from Iran in 1957, disappeared in mysterious circumstances in 1978. Assuring his 'return' is still a priority for Amal, whose present leader is the lawyer Nabih Berri.

Amal was formed with the support of the Syrians, the LNM and the Palestinian movement, but today Amal, mistrusting its secularism and socialist ideals, distances itself from the left. Although Amal's charter declares a formal support for the Palestinians and militant opposition to Israel, Sadr insisted to the PLO's Yasser Arafat that 'Jerusalem will be liberated only at the hands of believers'. During the civil war Amal played no military role.

Today Amal has some thousands of men under arms, especially in the south and among the 300,000 displaced Shiites of south and west Beirut. There have been many clashes with the PLO and Lebanese left, which have encouraged both the Israelis and the Lebanese right to look for agreements with Amal on the basis of a

common commitment to the partitioning of Lebanon on a confessional basis.

Fitting into none of these categories, the small militias of the traditional Sunni Muslim leaders are of some significance. They represent the continuing influence of rural landowners who until the civil war headed the official organisations of the Sunni community. Most prominent are the Reform Pioneers of Saeb Salam, and the supporters of Rashid Karami.

When fully mobilised it is estimated that the Lebanese militias, together with those of the Palestinian movement, are able to rally some 100,000 fighters — one for every 30 of the Lebanese population.

CSO: 4400/18

## SABHAH CONGRESS SECRETARY SPEAKS ON CHAD-LIBYA RELATIONS

LD061722 Tripoli JANA in English 0830 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Tripoli, 5 Oct (JANA)--The secretary of Central Sabhah Basic People's Congress delivered a speech to participants in the rally in which he saluted the revolution's leader and the Chadian president.

He said: "Today we start at this place to commemorate one of the dearest and most immortal occasions, the (?20th) anniversary of the demonstration led by the then student Mu'ammarr al-Qadhafi, leader of the great al-Fatah revolution, against the separation of Syria and Egypt, reaction, colonialism and for the realisation of Arab unity."

He added: "On 5 October 1961, the revolutionary student moved with his colleagues under the fire of the mobile forces and the police in rejection of the separation of Syria and Egypt, and in condemnation of events then taking place in the African and Arab world.

"The Libyan Arab people's dream came true in 1969, after the eruption of the great al-Fatah revolution. The Libyan people were thus in command of the greatest revolution mankind has ever known and where authority, wealth and arms were transformed to the people."

He continued: "Through popular victories we have affirmed our constant readiness to defend freedom everywhere against all colonisers and in support of the weak. Here at Sabhah, we declare to the world with pride that the Jamahiriyyah's people will stand side by side with the Chadian people to enhance their freedom and realise their free will.

"We also declare our readiness to support the Chadian people who, under Frolinat's leadership, achieve security and stability in the country. We declare this support in the belief that the Jamahiriyyah and Chad's security are interrelated. Furthermore, the two peoples have deep cultural, civilisational, spiritual and geographic links, and a history of long common struggle."

The Basic People's secretary said: "The (?fate of the Libyan) and Chadian people are intertwined. This common path was sealed by blood sacrificed by both peoples in a common quest for freedom and the unity of both peoples."

[Words indistinct] on the path of the great al-Fatah revolution, are intent on continuing the march for strengthening the people's authority, and building the society of the masses so that worldwide freedom gains victory and all forms of oppression and exploitation are forever eradicated."

CSO: 4500/12

## INTERVIEW WITH PEOPLE'S COURT PROSECUTOR

LD110008 Tripoli Voice of Arab Homeland in Arabic 2150 GMT 10 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Brothers, God's peace, mercy and blessings be upon you. Here is an interview with Dr Ahmed 'Abd al-'Al, chief prosecutor of the Arab People's Court which passed the sentence of high treason on Al-Sadat. We start by asking Dr 'Abd al-'Al his views on the official version being disseminated by the radios and information media of Cairo about the death sentence against Al-Sadat.

['Abd al-'Al] The official claim made by official circles in Egypt is in fact [word indistinct] the event and coverup of the Egyptian people's rejection of all the plots hatched by the regime. It is an attempt to blind the world and Arab opinion to the facts about events inside Egypt. The truth of the matter is completely different.

In my opinion what has taken place in Egypt is a great event, by far bigger than many had imagined. It is in fact an implementation of the Arab people's views on Al-Sadat's regime.

Let us return for a moment to the Arab People's Court before I proceed to prove that what happened was an implementation of the sentence passed by the Arab People's Court. The Arab People's Court was not formed easily. It was the result of hard work and numerous conflicts among many quarters. Many fought against the court idea because they knew of its objectives. They knew what was intended by it, for it meant that the Arab people could try any Arab head of state who betrayed the national interests. They could try him while still in office, not after his death, for the sake of history only, but try him at the height of his power. This was a serious precedent and all fought against the court idea.

But despite the fight, we succeeded in convening the court, which had yet another aim: to underline Arab unity and prove that the Arab peoples are one people.

The court consisted of judges from the various Arab homelands: one judge from Iraq, another from Syria, a third from Egypt, a fourth from Yemen and so on. Yet all had a clear understanding of all matters. In discussing sentences, however, there were conflicts of opinion.

All agreed on rejecting the capitulatory course. When the court was set up, everybody said that it would never convene. But we said it would. The Arab People's Congress said it should convene and so it did.

They also scoffed at the court, saying it would have no influence and its sentences would never be carried out. They said Al-Sadat suppressed the Egyptian people by force, he could do whatever he liked and the Egyptian people would submit to whatever he did. But we said the court's sentences would be effective and the Egyptian people were capable of carrying out the sentence.

We were asked: Who will carry out the sentences? They asked this mockingly sometimes and seriously at other times. They asked: Who will see to the implementation of the sentence? We said that for every court, there is a body, an executive body, but since our court is of a particular character, for we are a political court in the first place, then the body to be entrusted with the implementation of the sentence will be the Egyptian people, who have a vested interest in it. The Egyptian people will be the ones to implement the sentence. The Egyptian people have truly executed the sentence.

If we were to review events in Egypt, we would readily discover that what happened was actually an implementation of that sentence. This is because the Egyptian people started with political opposition. They started with demonstrations. The opposition intensified. Al-Sadat began to imprison scores of people. The opposition mounted further, so he dissolved the People's Assembly and expelled the opposition. He exhausted all the undemocratic methods. Yet the opposition continued to intensify gradually against Al-Sadat's policy. Finally, he got fed up with the opposition and threw them all in prison. He did not leave left, right or middle. He used sectarianism as a pretext and tried to use it to crush the opposition to him.

This proves that the assassination did not come out of nothing. It was preceded by serious opposition and escalation of opposition until it reached a peak. Here came the proper moment for executing the sentence of the Arab People's Court, which had convicted Al-Sadat of high treason.

The way the sentence was carried out is indicative of extreme courage. This is not strange coming from the Egyptian people. The Egyptian people have a great history. They previously fought the British and the French with sticks, and did so against guns and arms. I believe it was not too much to ask the Egyptian people to implement the sentence against Al-Sadat, after he had committed so many crimes against his people and his Arab nation.

[Question] And now, Dr Ahmad 'Abd al-'Al, chief prosecutor of the Arab People's Court, what are your comments on the reactions to the assassination of Al-Sadat, particularly those of the Americans, the Zionists, the Europeans and the reactionaries?

[Answer] All the reaction was natural. It is extremely natural for the United States to protest and to get angry and the same applies to Zionism and the reactionaries. Looking at the western press and at the funeral, we reach the conclusion that those who oppose the Arab People's Court sentence are the enemies of the Arab nation. They are completely and specifically known. Begin, Carter and Ford were all extremely sad because they have lost one of their tools in the Arab area. At the same time, they were frightened and disturbed by the events. This is because they realize that their intelligence departments, the Egyptian

and the Zionist intelligence, despite all their strength and despite all the weapons and sophisticated equipment and American experience provided by the American intelligence, failed to protect him in the face of the wrath of the Egyptian people and the wrath of the Arab people, of whom the Egyptian people are only a part.

The Arab People's Court which passed the sentence was not an Egyptian court but an Arab court; yet the Egyptian people implemented the court's sentence.

There is a progressive country on our borders: Libya. What takes place in Libya is bound to have repercussions in Egypt and what takes place in Egypt must have repercussions in Libya. The two peoples are brothers and always had cordial relations, as was the case during 'Abd al-Nasir's days. Today what takes place in Libya has repercussions among the Egyptian people. Here lies the fear of the revolutionary tide in Libya and the revolutionary tide that manifested itself in Egypt. Hence the 6th Fleet is preparing itself to calm down any revolutionary move inside Egypt or any development in Libya.

I do not believe that the 6th Fleet, the 7th Fleet or even the 500th Fleet can stop the revolutionary tide. If they were really so tough, they would have been able to check the revolutionary tide in Iran or elsewhere. Defeat is always the fate of imperialism. Victory is always for the peoples.

[Question] Dr 'Abd al-'Al, it is said that every president who comes to power in Egypt takes a policy completely different from the policy of his predecessor. What do you say about this theory at this precise time?

[Answer] It is a dangerous theory. There is nothing to indicate that every president pursues a new line. Al-Sadat's case, coming after 'Abd al-Nasir, is unique. This is because Al-Sadat's policy did not represent Egypt or even any particular class in Egypt.

Every president must be held responsible for every step he takes. Let Al-Sadat's example be a lesson to all. Every president must be responsible for his actions.

Yet I still say that the regime continues despite the fall of its leader. We must be very careful lest we think that the question is very simple and that since Al-Sadat has gone, everything will become normal again as it was before him. No, this is a superficial view. The regime continues to stick its paws in the body of the Egyptian people.

We all must be on the alert and have a clear view. Huge responsibilities still lie on the shoulders of the Egyptian people and their national leader internally and externally, but most particularly internally. The road is still long. Either the officials learn the lesson and pursue the right course, which is the road of the people, or the people will destroy anyone who stands in their way. The Egyptian people are, I am sure, very sensitive and very clever. They know well who is good and who is bad. They know well what policies are in their interest and what policies are against their interests.

[Question] Could you, Dr 'Abd al-'Al, give us your evaluation of the recent events in Asyut, Alexandria and Cairo?

[Answer] [Words indistinct] The people may triumph at one time or be defeated by the regime at other times. But be confident that the Egyptian people [words indistinct]. I am confident that the Egyptian people will not stop the struggle until they remove all traces of treason and eradicate the disgrace from their forehead and the forehead of the Arab nation--a disgrace that has befallen us without our being responsible for it. The people are capable of rectifying the course and will change the course. The people will bring the regime down however hard they fire at it. This is the nature of the Egyptian people.

I am confident that the resistance will escalate and the arms will rise in Egypt. Four years ago I told my brothers everywhere: The only way to deliver Egypt from the treason and the regime is to resort to arms. The battle has started and arms were used. The battle will continue until the regime is toppled and Egyptian territory is cleansed of all its traces.

CSO: 4504/22

NEED FOR CULTURAL POLICY IN ORDER TO HAVE REVIVAL STRESSED

Nouakchott CHAAB in French 29-30, 31 Aug, 1 Sep 81

[Article by D. Zeine: "For a Cultural Revival"]

[29-30 Aug 81 p 3]

[Text] On the morrow of their independence, the developing countries, most of them former colonies, are facing a myriad of political, economic, social and cultural problems. These problems are often so pressing and their means for meeting them so limited that it becomes necessary to give priority to some and neglect others for a time. And yet, the choice of priorities is in itself a problem that is not always correctly resolved by these countries.

In fact, in the face of several problems to be solved, priority must be given to the one whose solution will help solve others or will have the greatest possible effect on their resolution. In a sense, one focuses on the main problem, on whose solution that of others depends. Unfortunately, in most of these countries, the people are in too much of a hurry, are too careless, too irresponsible to knock themselves out, to bend over backwards to determine that priority problem. Rapidly and without paying too much attention to them, they consult foreign technical advisers (trained in terms of a completely different experience) and decide to concentrate on a given priority. In our countries, we change priorities as often as we change advisers, allies or boubous and these changes are too often the result of a whim and not a position long reflected upon and selected within the framework of an established, long-term policy unfailingly followed and applied with flexibility. Instead of acting, we react to the (very often aggressive) "solicitations" from abroad. It is not for nothing that some call us "big babies."

The many problems that our country has had to face following our accession to independence undeniably include the cultural problem, but the single cultural aspect that has always monopolized the attention of public opinion and sometimes that of the rulers is the linguistic aspect.

This aspect is naturally very important, but it is not everything. The language is the vehicle, the driving force of any culture, but culture does not only mean language. Culture grows around language, but goes beyond it and transcends it. For a long time, we limited ourselves to the linguistic aspect of culture, practically (or almost) neglecting all other aspects. The cultural problem that mobilized our

intellectuals was the problem of languages, which some considered to be the priority of priorities. When, in 1979, a solution satisfactory to everyone was found to this problem of languages, our intellectuals reverted to their lethargy and some, faithful to their customary unilateralism, turned to sports, tempted to interpret culture once again as being limited to sports.

This is perhaps the time to speak plainly: Sports are an important element of culture but not all of culture.

Culture is also painting, sculpture, architecture, literature, philosophy, poetry, economics, and so on. It is time to put an end to this unilateralism and design a cultural policy that would encompass all these varied aspects, a policy that takes our secular cultural heritage and the extremely rich contribution of the rest of mankind into account.

## II. Culture: Definition, Importance

For some, the definition of culture is easy: It is all the knowledge that a human being possesses. This definition is naturally valid, but it is only the very restricted, common and scarcely scientific meaning of the word. Actually, we tend more and more to agree on the fact that culture covers the entire range of activities of a given human group, as well as the ideological representations which that group makes of itself and of the milieu in which it is found. From this standpoint, culture includes domains as varied as mores, customs, religious beliefs, the sciences, economics, morals, literature and arts. In a word, culture is everything that man does not find ready-made in nature, everything that man adds to nature. However, we are considering here only the restrictive definition limiting the concept of culture to all the ideological representations (literature, poetry, art, morals, and so on) that we make of our relations between ourselves and the relations we have with our milieu.

Is culture eternal, immutable? Does it not ever change?

No, culture is not eternal. On the contrary, it is very relative, very linked to evolution and historical changes. Every human group evolves quantitatively and qualitatively, changes ways of living, instruments, acquires more experience, more control over the natural milieu in which it lives.

That milieu undergoes transformations in its turn, transformations that are slow, naturally, but they are continual and major and force man to change in order to be able to adapt. Because of all these things, culture does not remain the same over the centuries. It is enriched by new experiences, new contributions.

On what is the importance of culture based? Must one consider the cultural (and not solely linguistic) problem as the priority of priorities? In my opinion, yes. It is only by promoting a cultural leap that one can witness an economic leap and greater moralization of our administrative and political life. A people scarcely open to modern sciences, mostly illiterate, and whose intelligentsia -- still a small group -- manifests very little real and sincere interest in the problems of the people and total sterility on the level of intellectual creativity, that people cannot face the challenge of underdevelopment. It is not the number of

loans obtained from friendly countries and foreign organizations that will enable us to emerge from underdevelopment, but above all, our ability to use them in an intelligent manner and without waste in order to promote modest, but productive, investments. It is not the fine plans, the lofty resolutions and ringing slogans that will pull this country out of its current difficult situation, but men who love their people, men who are devoted to their interests, in a word, honest men.

How are we to interest our people in modern science? How can we make our people literate? How can we make our administrative personnel honest? How can we give rise to an intellectual elite capable of guiding this country toward progress? The only way is to arouse a cultural renewal, a renaissance of our arts, our letters, promote an opening to the achievements of the rest of mankind, without fear or timorousness. Those who are already crying "alienation" (when the country has scarcely emerged from its secular isolation) are demonstrating a poorly oriented zeal. The danger facing us today is not the risk of alienation, but the degree of stagnation. We have too many things to learn from peoples who have taken up the torch of scientific progress from the hands of our ancestors.

We need a Mauritanian cultural renaissance in order to create the conditions for an economic, political and social takeoff in our country. Such a renaissance means a return to the modernized values of the past, an opening to other cultures, and above all, creativity, innovation. Only such a movement will shake up our intelligentsia and encourage it along a path of active participation. If the people are the driving force of history, the intellectuals are then the driving force of the people.

[31 Aug 81 p 3]

[Text] Cultural Tradition of Mauritania

While the pre-Islamic period is practically unknown to us, it is undeniable that the penetration of Islam is going to lay the foundations of an unprecedented cultural leap in our country.

Well before the arrival, during the 9th century, of the great masters of the country: Abdellahi Ibn Yassine and Eliman El Hadrami, there already existed important cultural centers in the empire of Ghana and in Aoudaghots.

The accelerated Islamization resulting from the Almoravid Empire, the Beni Hassan invasion in the 15th century and the defeat of the Lwaya (that forced them to devote themselves to intellectual things) in the Char Bebbu war: All these events contributed, in one way or another, to the cultural thrust of the following years. The disappearance of the Almoravid Empire, which once again plunged the country into relative isolation separating it by thousands of kilometers of desert from the great intellectual centers of the Machrek and the Maghreb, caused the appearance within it of "a powerful class of clerics, the jealous and influential possessors of religious science and piety capable of transmitting and increasing, by the written works of their own scholars, that traditional knowledge." (De Chassey)

The first "mahaders" (real universities) appeared in the 12th century, but it was beginning in the 17th century, the start of a true cultural renaissance in the country, that they reached their peak.

The program of the mahaders was as varied as it was rich. Theology, law (figh), logic (Mantig), grammar (Nahou and Carf), rhetoric (Belaga), metaphysics, and so on, were taught there. Their flaw resided in the fact that no history, geography or exact sciences (physics, chemistry, mathematics, and so on), which were influential in the Machrek, were taught there. Nevertheless, places such as Chinguetti, Oualata and Ouadane were known all over the world for their ulemas and erudite scholars. Throughout the country, poetry enjoyed a true golden age, to such a point that Mauritania came to be called the "country of a million poets."

And yet, this renaissance began to die out with the colonial penetration. The political instability due to the confrontations between and within emirates, the economic stagnation (no noteworthy technical innovation during the period), accentuated by the successive droughts that struck the country, favored the cultural ebb, which in my opinion is still continuing.

#### Current Situation

One must have the courage or mere intellectual honesty to recognize that the current situation is depressing.

The most serious thing is not the fact that we are culturally far behind others and our own needs, but our ignorance and unawareness of the situation, our tendency to try to rest on our laurels, that is, our past (poor consolation for our forefathers).

Let us closely examine where we are, after these last 20 years of openness to the outside world.

Scientifically speaking, we do not yet exist and this is fairly normal, especially if we consider the fact that during our cultural "golden age," the exact sciences were not yet being taught.

But while that scientific backwardness can be explained, it is nevertheless disturbing in a world of science, and the degree of its mastery is becoming the criterion separating civilized peoples from barbarian peoples.

The social sciences (sociology, economic, archeology, and so on) are still almost unknown. A small minority of intellectuals has a vague idea of them but do not try to go further or above all, to use them as research material in order to analyze our own circumstances.

Let us look at our literature, if we have one.

The genres such as the novel or the essay are practically unknown. Our intellectual class has not given birth to any novelist or essayist (worthy of the name would be a pleonasm). Our children's textbooks are filled with everything but the works of Mauritanians.

Mauritanian theater is practically nonexistent, except for a few works that are scarcely ever performed. As for poetry, it is the genre in which the Mauritanians excel.

Practically every young Mauritanian is a potential poet. It is an undeniably popular genre that has given birth to marvelous poems.. One example of the degree of attraction which poetry has for young Mauritanians is that when cultural officials organized a contest to choose the best novel and the best poem, they received a single novel and dozens of poems. This commitment of the Mauritanian people to poetry deserves to be the subject of research.

It remains to be seen whether our students will pick up the challenge.

However, it must be noted that for centuries, that poetry has had three subjects that have practically not varied: religious (for didactic purposes), the description of scenery (accompanied by lyrical transports) and love (treated with discretion and reserve.

The poet very often composes in the line of his predecessors but does not have a conscious idea of the artistic conception guiding him. There are very innovations with respect to subject matter.

Finally, painting and sculpture are unknown in our country. It is true that in this field, we have practically no tradition, but this does not justify the degree of abandonment into which they have fallen. A whole aspect of human artistic creation is thereby neglected.

One must add that we have practically no cultural activities: no lectures, few exhibitions (often photography exhibitions, rarely any painting), no cultural festivals or cultural weeks.

There is no national literature prize to encourage creation. There is no theater in our country to encourage those who would like to form groups, and so on.

What is the reason for this, one must say, pessimistic picture of our cultural situation? First of all, because it is true and the truth must sometimes be spoken.

Second, it is time to sound the alarm, to attract the attention of our people and our leaders to this other form of "desertification" of our country that threatens to dry out what our ancestors have bequeathed to us.

Furthermore, we must fight the climate of complacent satisfaction and optimism that reigns among our intelligentsia, causing total lethargy. The cultural sector has stagnated for far too long in this country. While it was a lesser evil during the period when our people remained relatively isolated, the opening to the modern world and the increase in relations with it no longer allow us to continue that stagnation. Either our culture develops and modernizes or we shall be forced to assimilate the one more in keeping with today's conditions that the imperialist countries tried to sell us. The alternative is now clearly posed.

[1 Sep 81 p 3]

[Text] V. Elements of a Cultural Policy

Any realistic cultural policy must be based on a certain number of factors that are characteristic of our country if it does not wish to amount to mere subjective

desires that go no further than paper. Among these factors, one must emphasize that: a) this country is Islamic and this people is 100-percent Muslim; b) this people is made up of four different communities, each with its own language, its own mores, its specific characteristics and its traditions, in a word, its own culture and the perfect right to develop it; c) the people are culturally very backward, even if the literacy rate (thanks to religious education) is not among the lowest in Africa. This means that in order to spread culture at their level, a relay system must be used. This system is made up of the intellectuals.

Without supporting an elitist culture, I believe that it is necessary, for the time being, to go through an elitist period.

d) It is necessary to promote a liberalization and democratization of the entire cultural sector. Intellectual creation can not be taught or oriented in terms of objectives set in advance. Things connected with art do not always follow the same path as reason. The artist must be allowed to freely express his "fantasies, give free reign to his creative genius, without giving him a certain mold he must follow. As it is stated in one friendly country, the flowers must be left to bloom and schools to freely compete. Art cannot be directed precisely.

The measures that could be taken in order to give rise to a cultural boom can be of two kinds: a) measures of awareness and popularization; and b) measures of encouragement.

Measures of awareness and popularization: We must increase the number of lectures in the capital on economic, political and especially literary topics, ensuring that the level will be high and realizing that only a small group of intellectuals could attend.

These lectures should deal with current national or international subjects, but above all, be enriching and be adequately publicized.

We must, whatever the cost, rapidly set up a cultural journal on a high level that would arouse the interest of our intellectuals and result in their participation.

Many of our cadres want to and can write, but they do not have a free platform with a sufficient audience in order to do so.

In such a journal, they could make their literary debut.

We must increase the number of literary and poetry contests in order to choose the best works in the fields and especially the young people who manifest talent. These young people should receive privileges (scholarships, material aid, gifts of books, training programs) in order to be able to improve upon their natural gifts and take advantage of the experience of other writers in the world. Above all, we must not allow them to be more "murdered Mozarts" -- that is, stuck in administrative or other tasks that are unworthy of them and that make them waste their precious writer's gift.

We must institute an annual festival of culture to which international lecturers and foreign theater groups will be invited. This festival will in a sense be an annual cultural festival, a meeting place at which we can draw up the balance sheet of what has taken place over the past year and comment upon the latest international innovations in the literary and artistic fields.

We must organize exhibitions of painting and sculpture in order to make these disciplines known to our people and make them sensitive to their importance. We must encourage young talents that are manifested in this field.

We must create a national theater and form a national artists group. The theater is an important means of reaching our masses and many of our intellectuals can write interesting works. But how can they write if there is no theater to perform their work?

Measures of encouragement: These can consist of the establishment of three national prizes of a high sum of money (100,000 to 200,000 monetary units) in order to encourage annually: a) the best novel or essay; b) the best work of poetry; and c) the best piece of journalism.

These prizes, whose equivalent exists in all countries of the world, are necessary in order to arouse a rivalry among our intellectuals and give rise to a climate favorable to the growth of our culture.

In addition, the country's large enterprises and banks can also create their own annual prizes in order to encourage literary creation, as their colleagues do everywhere in the world.

In applying these measures, we must systematically avoid the creation of new structures that will be added to those already in existence and thereby further encumber the system and make it inoperative. The second danger consists of entrusting the stimulation of the cultural sector to persons who view it as identical to all other administrative posts.

Entrusting a cultural institution to someone who does not passionately love culture is exactly the same thing as entrusting the management of an atomic plant to an ecologist.

It is not difficult to imagine the result. If we succeed in creating an elite passionately fond of culture and convinced of the need for its dissemination among the people, we shall contribute to a new cultural renaissance in our country.

11,464

CSO: 4519/59

## SHALE OIL EXPLOITATION AGREEMENT SIGNED

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 40, 5 Oct 81 p 10

## [Text]

The Royal Dutch/Shell oil group last week signed an agreement with Morocco to help carry out a feasibility study and develop a pilot plant to exploit large shale oil deposits in remote areas near Tarfaya on the edge of the Western Sahara. The Tarfaya oil shale reserves are estimated at 10-20 billion tonnes and are more substantial than those near Timahdit in central Morocco. However, they have a lower oil content, yielding 45-60 litres a tonne compared to Timahdit's 74 litres a tonne.

Earlier this year, Morocco signed a \$13 million agreement with the US company Davy McKee to build a pilot plant to exploit the Timahdit oil shale deposits (see *An-Nahar Arab Report & MEMO*, May 4 and April 27, 1981). The Timahdit plant, scheduled to go into operation in 1983, will be followed by a commercial demonstration unit comprising two 5,000 tonne furnaces. A production target of 100,000 tonnes a year has been set for 1985 and Morocco's Energy and Mines Ministry hopes to achieve a figure of 400,000 tonnes a year in 1986.

Producing oil from shale is a central part of Morocco's ambitions to become self-sufficient in oil, natural gas and uranium by the year 2000. The 1981-85 five-year development plan allotted \$938 million for the shale oil programme out of a total expenditure of \$2.7 billion. Morocco's oil shale deposits are reckoned to be the fourth largest in the world after the US, Brazil and the Soviet Union. They could eventually cover the country's current demand for energy, which is running at about 5 million tonnes a year of oil equivalent, although the technology involved in the extraction process is relatively untried.

The Moroccans envisage that the Tarfaya pilot plant will ultimately lead to construction of a commercial production unit with a capacity to process 100,000 b/d of shale oil, equivalent to about 3.7 million tonnes a year. Shale oil is heavy (about 20° API), but if Morocco can extract it at the target cost of \$29 a barrel, it should go a long way towards meeting domestic needs at an economic cost.

CSO: 4500/15

## QATAR

### BRIEFS

NEW OIL FIND--New deposits of oil have been found in commercial quantities offshore close to Qatar's Bunduq oilfield, the Qatari government announced last week. The oil is of 40° API quality and tests have shown that the deposits are easily exploitable. The Qatari statement gave no figures for the size of the deposits but said they were likely to add considerably to the state's 4.6 billion barrels of proven oil reserves. The find was made in the Arab-C zone on the Qatari side of the Bunduq field, which Qatar shares equally with Abu Dhabi. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO No 40, 5 Oct 81 p 10]

CSO: 4400/17

## BRIEFS

SWEDES WIN CONTRACT--The Swedish state-owned firm, Kockum, has won a \$228 million contract to supply the Saudi National Shipping Company (SNSC) with four roll-on/roll-off vessels. The financially-troubled Swedish company announced the contract last week after several years without any foreign orders in its books. It attributed its success in winning this deal to its offer to deliver the vessels six months earlier than other bidders. The ro-ro ships will be the largest in the world, at 38,500 dwt each, according to shipping sources in Stockholm. Their capacity of 2,000 teu (container) capacity corresponds to 25 per cent of Saudi Arabia's annual container traffic. The vessels will operate between the U.S. and Saudi Arabia. The first ship is due for delivery in the spring of 1983 and the last at the end of that year. The Swedish Ministry of Industry has provided Saudi Arabia with a guarantee of delivery for the four vessels. According to Ebbe Krook, the managing director of the Malmo shipyard, where the ro-ros will be built, workers' redundancies will now be halted as a result of the order. Reductions in the workforce have been going on since January, following a \$114 million loss for Kockum last year. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO No 40, 5 Oct 81 p 11]

CSO: 4400/17

## SYRIA PLANS NEW SOURCES OF INCOME

Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT &amp; MEMO in English No 40, 5 Oct 81 p 4

[Text] TAX revenues in Syria are to be doubled between now and 1985. The money is needed to pay for the new \$26bn Five Year Plan, which runs till 1985 and should have started at the beginning of the year. However, the Plan was only approved by the National Assembly last month.

The aim is that tax revenue should increase from the 1980 figure of 10 per cent of GDP to 15 per cent in 1985. Since the Plan document puts GDP in 1980 at \$14bn and says it will rise to \$20.3bn in 1985, the expectation is that tax revenue should go from \$1.4bn to \$3bn. Just how the extra revenue will be raised — whether by increased output and sales as the living standard rises, or through an increase in rates of taxation — is yet to be made clear.

The government of premier Abdul Rauf al Kasm — who was brought in January last year to revitalise the economy and revamp the Plan (hence the delay) is well aware that extra tax revenue will not be sufficient by itself to raise the necessary finance for the Plan. It wants to increase personal savings by about 11 per cent a year, which means that Syria's low interest rates could be raised quite soon. At the moment there is more incentive to borrow rather than save. However, the government hopes that savings should be worth \$4.5bn in 1985, compared with last year's figure of \$2.7bn.

Exports are also to be boosted by 6.5 per cent yearly, while imports — already rigidly controlled — are to be kept back to a growth rate of only 3.4 per cent. Only last month the government restricted some imports, including cigarette lighters, fish, cheese and watches, while banning others — air conditioners, cigarettes, perfume and frocks — outright. The authorities also

tightened foreign exchange regulations.

Given the measures already introduced, it is expected that the above policies will be put into operation and incidentally so have a beneficial effect on the country's foreign exchange reserves. Nevertheless, there is still expected to be a trade deficit of well over \$1bn by 1985.

One of the prime goals of the new Plan is social development, and the government has set itself the task of creating 460,000 new jobs by 1985. Particular emphasis is being put on education — especially following the decision earlier this year to make primary schooling compulsory throughout the country — with plans to build 29,000 new classrooms (23,000 of them for primary schools), and end the present doubling-up system in schools whereby one 'shift' of pupils uses the building in the morning and another in the afternoon.

Nevertheless, despite a planned annual 7.6 per cent growth in GDP, there is a noticeable shift in emphasis away from industrial projects. Agriculture is made a top priority and is getting \$4.4bn during the five-year period; that comprises just under 17 per cent of the total Plan investment and is about three times the amount the sector received under the last Plan. Nor apparently does it include planned spending on agro-industrial projects.

Tourism is to get \$169m, \$57m of it for new projects. The government expects a private sector involvement in the Plan to be about 20 per cent — somewhat less than the private sector's current slice of the economy, which is put at between 25-30 per cent. However, technocrat Premier al Kasm has high hopes of the private sector, which in the past has proved far more efficient than the cumbersome state sector. Both prime minister and National Assembly were highly critical of the state sector's previous performance while the Plan was being discussed last month.

CSO: 4400/18

## BRIEFS

IDB LOAN FOR GARBAGE--The Islamic Development Bank is lending Syria \$5 million, the IDB announced in Jeddah last week. The loan is to be used to finance construction of a factory to recycle garbage from the city of Damascus, the IDB said. In June, the Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development (AFESD) granted Syria a \$7.9 million loan for a similar purpose (AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO, June 22) but it is not clear whether the latest IDB loan is for the same treatment plant. [Text] [Paris AN-NAHAR ARAB REPORT & MEMO in English No 40, 5 Oct 81 p 4]

CSO: 4400/18

## TUNISIA'S OIL PRODUCTION POTENTIAL OUTLINED

London 8 DAYS in English No 38, 26 Sep 81 pp 54-55

[Article by David Buckman]

[Text] THE NEWS that Tunisia will apply to join Oapec at its 8 December ministerial meeting in Abu Dhabi has focused attention on a state that rarely makes oil headlines. Many new-prospect watchers within the industry, however, rate Tunisia as the dark horse among Arab producers. Although its production has for years hovered around a modest 100,000 b/d, the north African country has considerable potential, mainly offshore.

The renewed enthusiasm for prospecting off Tunisia by leading international companies indicates that, given the right conditions, the country could become one of this decade's Mediterranean drilling hotspots. Moreover, the government appears keen to foster explorer activity.

Tunisia's oil output last year met domestic needs, and earned over \$750m from net exports. But the lack of major new production, and an indicated decline in the tiny volume of gas gathered onshore, had raised the prospect that Tunisia could become a net energy importer by the end of the 1982-1986 development plan. The effect of this on the balance of payments, with oil prices set to climb, would be grave.

Traditionally, the country has relied on its onshore oilfields, but their performance has never been dazzling. Just over half the 100,000 b/d of recent years has been produced onshore, almost entirely from the El Borma field. This is operated by Sitep, a partnership of Italy's Agip and the Tunisian state oil firm, Etap.

It has been necessary to waterflood El Borma to maintain output. In view of the

impending membership of Oapec, it is interesting to note that the Arab Petroleum Investments Corporation, an Oapec associate body, promised Etap \$40m towards its share of the cost of this waterflooding in 1979.

The country's remaining half-dozen onshore fields are all tiny, and depend heavily on the expertise of Italian and French companies — the traditional non-indigenous operators. The last of the fields to go onstream was Agip's Choueich Essaida in 1977, to the tune of a few hundred barrels daily. Amoco raised hopes in 1979 when its Sabria North wildcat well tapped nearly 1,000 b/d, all the more because it was the first strike in the Chott Djerid area in the southwest. By this time, however, the Tunisians were fast realising that offshore was where the real potential lay.

This turnaround in thinking had begun in December 1973, when the French firm SNEA brought the Ashtart field in the Gulf of Gabes onstream. It remains the only producing offshore field, and has shown that an initially unexciting find off Tunisia can be economically viable. The discovery well yielded only 1,500 b/d, which is poor by Middle East or North Sea standards, but Ashtart lies in shallow water (about 60 metres) and is only 80km from Sfax, a key port for offshore oil activity.

The operator reckoned that output levels of 50,000 b/d were feasible, so to reduce capital costs a trunkline to shore was dispensed with. Instead, Ashtart was developed using the increasingly common offshore production system concept. In this

case, it was a mix of steel platforms, a storage tanker and mooring buoys which permitted shuttle tankers to load.

Ashtart's output has had to be supported by water injection since 1975, but the field

remains a major contributor to national output. Moreover, it has piloted a production concept which could well be adapted at other Tunisian offshore fields.

Tunisia has had several encouraging signs in its offshore search recently. Big international operators, such as US Occidental, are now keen to acquire new acreage, even if it means having Etap as majority partner. New commitment is being seen from major existing concessionaires such as BP and Shell, who are both now active searchers. Also, the discoveries are fanning out across the continental shelf, with potential sites in the Gulfs of Gabes and Hammamet; there are now over a dozen significant oil and gas finds.

Four oil finds with interesting features should be watched as front-running potential producers over the next few years: Tazerka, Halk el Menzel, Isis and Didon. Tazerka promises to be the biggest subsea production project in the Mediterranean. The field lies in the Gulf of Hammamet and was discovered by Tunirex (Shell). Although the initial wells drilled in 1979 went largely unremarked by the industry.

Then, in December 1980, Single Buoy Moorings, a company with a growing interest in fields based on subsea wells, announced it had received a letter of intent for the engineering and project management of a system for Tazerka. The integrated floating production, storage and offloading complex is due to be installed in the summer of 1982, for oil to start flowing at end-year.

It will use five subsea wellheads initially and will be centred on a tanker of just over 200,000 dwt. No output rate has yet been disclosed for the field, which is believed quite small.

Tunirex has other finds in the Gulf of Hammamet which should prove of long-term interest. It has had some success with its Birsia and Oudna wells. Also watchable are the efforts of BP, which took over as operator in the Gulf on acreage where Buttes, a US independent, made the promising Jasmine oil finds in 1976-77.

A group led by Elf Aquitaine, which

made the Halk el Menzel discovery in 1977, is also studying production in the Gulf. In 1979 a fourth well proved encouragingly productive. Elf reckons it has a potentially viable small field, but says plans must await interpretation of the wells.

The other two fields moving towards production are, like Ashtart, in the Gulf of Gabes. The first is Isis, found by Total of France in 1974, with a discovery well which flowed a promising 2,500 b/d. However, the marginal nature of the reservoir prompted Total to seek favourable development terms from the government. Although an agreement was reported to have been signed some three years ago — and despite the fact that Total claimed up to 40,000 b/d seemed feasible — development has been held up until the International Court of Justice rules on a median-line dispute in the Gulf.

The Didon find, which was discovered as long ago as 1976 by Sofratep, with Elf Aquitaine as operator, is also near Libyan waters. Just over a year ago the British firm CJB Offshore announced that Etap had asked it to study recovery of Didon 1 oil with a view to development.

Tunisia has in the past suggested to Libya the formation of a company to explore in the Gulf of Gabes jointly. Libya is known to have substantial offshore oil and gas finds in the region awaiting exploitation, and apparently did not respond favourably.

Alongside these oil prospects, Tunisia is examining the future of several gas fields offshore. The evaluating body is Segma, an organisation set up by Tunisian and French interests. The Oapec associate Apicorp has a 20 per cent stake in it, which is further evidence of Tunisia's burgeoning relationship with the Arab oil-producer group.

Tunisia may never be a big exporter by international standards. For the offshore driller, however, it promises steady business for a long time — and there is always the tantalising chance of an exciting find.

POLISARIO'S POSSIBLE STATUS DISCUSSED

London 8 DAYS in English No 38, 26 Sep 81 p 27

[Text] MAURITANIAN leaders are deeply concerned over the OAU's proposed referendum in the Western Sahara: they fear that if the vote is in favour of maintaining links with Morocco, the Polisario's military command will move their operations into northern Mauritania.

Mauritania was a participant at the Nairobi OAU summit in June and initially welcomed King Hassan's surprise proposal of a supervised referendum in the Western Sahara. But as it has become increasingly clear that Rabat intends to maintain both its administration and its army in the region during the referendum, Nouakchott spokesmen make no secret of their belief that the Polisario cannot win.

'We believe that the Polisario has been deserted by many of their former African supporters and that with voting on the basis of a very old Spanish census, the voting cannot favour them,' said one high ranking official. 'The military will then move from their bases in Tindouf, Algeria and Hawza in the Sahara and set up camp in Mauritania.' The Spanish census was conducted in 1974 and records 74,497 inhabitants, while the Polisario claims that at least half a million people fled the territory after the Moroccan army entered in 1975 and 1976.

Mauritanian officials fear that any large-scale influx of the Polisario and its followers would destabilise the precarious ethnic and political balance within the country. It was in order to rid itself of external tribal pressures and military expenditure that Nouakchott withdrew from the fray in the first place.

In early August, Mauritania's military government announced a ministerial reshuffle including the appointment of Major Ahmed Ould Minnih as the country's new foreign affairs minister. Perhaps in recognition of a tougher stance by Mauritania, the Polisario quickly released 86 Mauritanian civilians, policemen and soldiers who had been held for some time.

The Polisario is fully aware that its claims of kinship with the northern Mauritaniens could provide its members with a refuge, and it is this that worries the Nouakchott authorities. With the Polisario active and warmly received by northerners, Mauritania's African southerners would probably turn their allegiance to their own kinsmen in Senegal, thereby polarising the country's two communities and endangering national unity.

Saudi Arabia is watching events with deep anxiety. Saudi aid has helped develop the Moroccan-administered Sahara.

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